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*The*

# South Atlantic Quarterly

EDITED BY

W. H. GLASSON AND W. P. FEW

JULY, 1917

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JULY, 1917

Number 3

# The South Atlantic Quarterly

## The Religion of the Kaiser

JAMES G. RANDALL

Research Fellow in the University of Pennsylvania

### I

In many aspects the bearing of this war upon religion has been notable. Hardened men have sought soul-purging in the face of a sobering crisis; chaplains, braving death and far transcending merely official duties, have eagerly promoted the welfare and comfort of the men; Catholics have joined hands with Congregationalists, Jews with Greek Orthodox Christians, in a work of human uplift; hymns have risen in many choruses to the accompaniment of bursting shrapnel; hundreds at the voice of one priest have received absolution on the eve of battle; by common agreement the people of a nation have united in daily prayer "as the hands of the clock point heavenward at noon." Such inspiring manifestations as these have produced the feeling that a heightened spiritual sense accompanies war. As a result, one of the leading general effects of war and of warlike preparation may, perhaps, have been obscured: the very tendency to associate religion with war causes a reversion to a primitive type of religion, and even a reassertion of inhuman instincts under the name of Christianity. In war you have religion for the ends of the state rather than for the regeneration of the individual, and such a political tincturing must needs alter the character of any faith.

As the task of the following pages is to weigh the values underlying the religious utterances of the present German ruler, we may turn at once to a consideration of the Kaiser's attitude toward God. A brilliant French writer, Henri de Noussanne, who probably overestimates his own objectivity in calling his book "*Le Véritable Guillaume II*," has given us a suggestive

chapter dealing with Emperor William's reactions toward deity. "William," he says, "delights to pose as the inspired of God, and no name, perhaps, occurs so often in his speeches as that of the All-powerful. 'Faith in God,' he declared, 'and in God alone, is the foundation of this Empire.' 'I am your Emperor by God's unfathomable decree.' 'You, O Germans, are the chosen people. The Lord has said to me: Go choose you men, and fight against the Amalekites.' 'There must be one Empire, one people, and one God.'"

He further points out that this old God of Germany is a national God—*unser Gott*—who constitutes the Kaiser his spokesman and whose particular mission seems to be to intervene in his favor. It is the God of Arminius, of Alaric, of Charlemagne, of Frederick the Great, the God who was appealed to again in the patriotic songs of 1814 and 1870. This All-powerful, and rather special, God brought terror to the legions of Varus, smote guilty Rome, inspired the great Charles and William the First, and caused to spring from the German soil such geniuses as Luther, Kant, Goethe, Moltke; it is He again who suggests to Germans today the thought of the mundane mission which it is theirs to fulfill.

A perusal of the Emperor's speeches reveals an unconscious tendency to associate religion with national and dynastic glory and with war. Whether attending a religious ceremony, or encouraging new recruits, or speaking from a pulpit, or conducting prayers on a warship, the same characteristic refrain runs through his addresses. On one occasion a celebration in commemoration of Luther calls forth a glorification of the Hohenzollern house and the Prussian army. Again his guards are urged to become good Christians that they may be good soldiers and in the same breath they are reminded of the uniform of their King by which they are specially honored. On the tenth anniversary of his accession he attributes his success to reliance upon the army and trust in God, declaring that the army is his country's main tower of strength, the main pillar supporting the Prussian throne to which God "in His wisdom" had called him. In a military divine service while addressing a group of officers he glories in his army "grouped around their banners, bending the knee to the Lord of Hosts."

At a time when the German chastisement of China is the foremost national policy he preaches a characteristic sermon on his yacht, the *Hohenzollern*, off Heligoland. Israel prevailing over the Amalekites is his text. (*Exodus xvii, 11.*) "Again," he declares, "the pagan spirit of Amalek has stirred in far Asia. . . . And again God has ordered: 'Choose men, go forth and fight against Amalek.' A grim terrible struggle has begun."

In the same discourse he thus elucidates the "sacred power of prayer": "The fervent prayers of Moses made the swords of the enemy dull . . . and pinned victory to the flying banners of Israel. And if the prayers of Moses accomplished this, is it to be thought that our prayers will prove of no avail? God has not taken back a single syllable from his promises. Faithful prayer can throw even today the dragon banner into the dust and plant the cross upon the walls. . . . Yet the Lord liveth. Our great Ally still reigneth. God Almighty, who can seize upon the strongest walls as if they were cobwebs and who can scatter the mightiest armies like heaps of sand. And if God is for us, who can be against us?"

After the sermon dealing with "prayer," the Kaiser prays: "Almighty God, dear Heavenly Father. Thou Lord of Hosts and Leader of battles, we lift up our hearts to Thee in prayer. . . . Lead Thou our men to glorious victory. . . . Lead us in battle. We praise Thee because Thou aidest us, and our flag is hoisted in Thy name. Lord, we will not cease to importune Thee unless Thou blessest us first. Amen!"

It is always the God of Battles, the wrathful Jehovah, the Lord of Hosts with whom the Kaiser deals: the lowly forgiving Christ of the Gospels hardly appears in the imperial invocations and addresses. His appeal is to God, the source of his own divine power to rule, to the mighty God who can steel the German power of attack and confound Germany's enemies. It is a tribal deity that he invokes,—God, the Ally of the Teutons. It is almost like asking the Almighty to put on a German uniform.

<sup>1</sup> The speeches above summarized, and in part quoted, have been selected, *passim*, from Wolf von Schierbrand, *The Kaiser's Speeches*. (Harper and Brothers, 1903.)

## II

There are many considerations which complicate the rather ungracious task of evaluating a ruler's piety. When a sovereign repeats the name of Deity and confidently appropriates the grace and support that flow from religion, we would know whether genuinely spiritual motives actuate him, or whether he is primarily concerned with preserving his religious status in the eyes of the uncritical multitude of his subjects. An anti-religious attitude is unacceptable in any ruler: even tolerant Americans would never raise to the presidency an atheistic or anti-Christian candidate. But just as in private life the superficial advantages of a Christian profession may be appropriated without the price of discipleship being paid, so in the field of royal experience the credit for being sufficiently religious may, perhaps, be cheaply bought. If there is a ring of religious earnestness to catch the ear, the common run of men will pay as little heed to what lies back of the uttered syllables as an audience gives to the actual content of meaning in the oral cadences of a spell-binder.

A self-assertive monarch thinks of his spiritual halo as a part of his Majestic Self. It is valued because it identifies him with the mysterious, incomprehensible forces above nature which create a feeling of awe and strike terror to the heart. Such a monarch tends to think of himself not as obedient to divinity, but as associated with divinity. It is not merely God that works wonders for the nation: it is "God and my crown," or "God and my army." Whether the crown and the army are working in line with the divine will seems not to be questioned. The imperial will that is accustomed to think of itself as law on earth tends also to feel that the forces of omnipotence are at its back. The exhortation to religion becomes, as it were, a clause in national field service regulations, just as the *morale* of troops is known to have a distinct military value. Suppose one were to take away the obvious advantage of this sort of royal religion. Suppose we eliminate the awe of the multitude, the impressive emphasis added to the royal speech, the confidence of the people and the army in an invincible, divinely-appointed monarch, the sanction of the supernatural and the solemn effect of the mysterious,—is it to

be supposed that we would still hear such frequent repetition of the Almighty's name in the imperial speeches?

There is, it must be admitted, something captivating about the medieval theory of divine right monarchy. If a man is monarch by divine right, then the morality of his commands is not to be questioned. It is an easy corollary of this theory that when the monarch uses force the stars in their courses are fighting with him, that when he and his army step out from the national frontiers to confound the heathen (other nations are likely to be so regarded under this theory) they have a right to expect supernatural intervention, that where foes appear within the nation, as for instance Socialists with troublesome questionings about the infallibility of rulers and with eccentric notions about brotherhood and democracy and internationalism, they are to be branded with the stigma of a treason that is akin to blasphemy. Such men, under this theory, and all men whose thought is too free and independent, are to be suppressed, and in the aid of such confounding of foes within, the same divine assistance is vouchsafed as against foes without. A theory such as this tends to accentuate national egotism, to pervert patriotism into clannishness, to cover aggression with a mantle of sacredness, and to stultify those human elements for which we thought the world had come to have a rather better appreciation than formerly.

### III

As to Emperor William himself, it is no part of the present writer's purpose to argue any grossness in his point of view, or any intentional perversion on his part of the principles of religion. On the other hand, there is every reason to believe that his pious utterances are sincere, as he is said to be an intensely religious man. The question of his point of view becomes a matter not for censure, but for disinterested study as a psychological phenomenon. In its main outlines, his personality is sufficiently well known. He presents the striking spectacle of a ruler of a great state taking himself seriously as a divine right monarch in the twentieth century. His self-assertiveness, one of his leading characteristics, may not be combative in any sense that is personally offensive, but

all the circumstances of his birth and environment have been such as to engender an exaggerated sense of the value of military glory, and a faith in the invincibleness of the Hohenzollern dynasty that amounts to an obsession. It is probably the vigor of his personality that has caused him to turn with such earnestness to religion, and as a serious-minded man in high position cannot treat lightly his own mission, there is doubtless in his heart a genuine craving for divine help to enable him to bear his heavy responsibilities. It is not to be even hinted that religion is with him a mask to hide deliberate perfidy and tyranny. In a paternalistic way he desires that individually his subjects shall be happy and prosperous. Such happiness and prosperity would, indeed, reflect glory upon his crown. But it is to be remembered that he comes of a line of rulers who for long centuries have followed the gospel of the main chance; he belongs to a state whose history has seemed a singularly convincing proof of the theory that national greatness is to be promoted by force; his Prussia has, within a period that we call modern, raised itself by prodigious military exertion from the position of an inferior German mark to that of the leading power, perhaps, of Europe. No wonder his heart should thrill with pride at the achievements of his ancestors and the exploits of his house, and no wonder he tends to think of all advance and progress in the terms of military achievement.

He is not to be blamed for the circumstances which have inevitably created in him this point of view. It is even to be forgiven him that Hohenzollern characteristics have tended to become accentuated in his character. Living in the greatest age of the Hohenzollerns, it is not a matter for censure that he should take most pride in Hohenzollern virtues and Hohenzollern glory. We can understand why an almost fanatical loyalty to the traditions of his dynasty should actuate him. It is an established tradition of the house that each ruler should add further territory to the patrimony. If it were not for the predatory policy involved, and if the matter were to be viewed merely from William's own standpoint, we could pardon his emulation of his sires in this respect, too. For, in this tolerant

age, there is a tendency to forgive an act if we can understand it.

Now taking into consideration all these elements of the Emperor's ancestry, personality and environment, is it not a fairly simple matter to account psychologically for his religion? In a state which has staked everything on military strength and which is now ambitious for expansion, it is natural that the ruler should find it hard to dissociate religion from war, and that his instinctive assumption of the superiority of his own people should pass over easily into the thought that they are a race chosen of heaven to go forth and possess the earth. It is by no means difficult to understand how the two greatest emotions of his heart,—the religious emotion and the desire for military glory—should become fused, and that he should tend more and more to lose sight of the true bearings of Christianity upon international morality. But though we may understand and so withhold censure, our regret should be none the less keen that autocratic authority and power of infinite mischief should belong to a ruler with such a creed.

#### IV

It should be admitted that a world of related connotations crowd in to do injury to the Emperor's declarations on religion. It may well be that the Kaiser himself is unsympathetic toward many of the elements of modern German philosophy which one tends to associate with his speeches. M. de Nous-sanne, for instance, probably strains the point when he attributes Nietschean tendencies of thought to Emperor William. He writes: "In the German Emperor's eyes, Christianity, and its two successors, Catholicism and Lutheranism, are softened forms of the true faith. It would be dangerous for Germans to confine themselves to this theology, born of Romanism and Orientalism: it would not suit a strong and regenerated race. . . . In his Majesty's thought the thing that has enfeebled the Latin and Slav races is their fidelity to a religion of good will born in the dreams of the Orient. It is primarily from this source that there arise this humanitarianism, these clamors of internationalism, these altogether ideal conceptions

of universal peace, contradictory to the development and triumph of brutal force. The Emperor holds as his most dangerous enemy this 'new spirit' of which people have become enamored, and his keenest fear is to see it spread over Germany." In this passage, the author's foreign bias has probably led him beyond the path of sound interpretation. The safer explanation would perhaps be that the Kaiser dislikes the "new spirit" because it is associated with socialism, and therefore with disloyalty, rather than because it is identified with Christianity. A close study of his speeches reveals not so much a philosophic antagonism to New Testament principles as a primitive type of thought which fails to grasp essential Christian truths.

Similarly, it may be said, the Emperor's utterances since the beginning of the present war have suffered from their inevitable connotations. In a proclamation issued during the first week of August, 1914, at a time when Germany was "resisting" by battering down the Belgian forts, the Kaiser declared: "We shall resist to the last breath of man and horse, and we shall fight out the struggle even against a world of enemies. Forward with God who will be with us as he was with our ancestors." This speech is touched by the same sort of heroics that one finds in the Emperor's earlier utterances, yet the unfavorable judgment which it awakened in outsiders was due in greater degree to an abhorrence of Prussia's part in the war than to anything implicit in the speech itself.

The following prayer was directed by the Kaiser, in an order to the supreme council of the evangelical church, to be included in the Liturgy throughout the war: "Almighty and merciful God! God of the armies! We beseech Thee in humility for Thy almighty aid for our German Fatherland. Bless the entire German war force, lead us to victory, and give us grace that we may show ourselves to be Christians toward our enemies as well. Let us soon arrive at the peace which will safeguard our free and independent Germany." If this prayer aroused an unsympathetic response outside Germany, the reason is to be found not in the prayer itself, but in the conviction that the very policy of the nation belied the words. The word "Christians" must have created in the minds of many

readers a strange sense of incongruity, and it was not a question as to whether Germany should be "free and independent."

As the Germans were pressing on toward Paris during the first weeks of the war, the Kaiser exulted: "For our victory we are thankful, in the first place, to *unserem alten Gott*. He will not desert us since we stand for a holy cause. . . . We shall not lose our faith and trust in *unserem guten alten Gott dort oben*. We are determined to win, and we must win." Here one finds, perhaps, more inherent cause for an unfavorable impression, for those sentiments of national humility and that searching of heart that are appropriate to a nation in time of crisis are lacking here. In their place one finds a clamoring for triumph to an invading army, and an impatient eagerness to win national and dynastic laurels. A purely objective point of view, a thing almost impossible in the present war of course, would perhaps disentangle the Kaiser's own views from that aggregate of national aims designated loosely as "Prussianism," but even then the fact would remain that a primitive and belligerent element dominates the Emperor's religion.

## V

The attitude of a famous Hohenzollern of an earlier day on matters of religion and conscience may well claim our consideration here. Frederick the Great, the most illustrious of the house—a man as prominent in Prussian history as Washington in our own—declared in his remarkable *Confessions* that while religion is absolutely necessary to the state it would not be wise for the king to have any religion himself. "There is nothing," he says, "that tyrannizes more over the head and heart than religion, because it neither agrees with our passions nor with those great political views by which a monarch ought to be guided. The true religion of a prince is his interest and his glory. He ought, by his royal station, to be dispensed from having any other."

Nor should a monarch, in Frederick's view, be bothered with a conscience, for in reading further these same *Confessions* we learn that the monarch who in making a treaty remembers that he is a Christian is undone, that war is a trade

in which even the least scruple would spoil everything, and that a ruler (this is regarded as axiomatic) would not make war without being assured of the right to make rules that authorize plunder, fire and carnage.

Even allowing for some exaggeration, the following presents an interesting point of view as to the religion of rulers. Frederick wrote: "As our ancestors made themselves in the ninth century Christians, out of complaisance to the Emperors; in the fifteenth, Lutherans, in order to seize the possessions of the church; and Calvinists in the sixteenth, to please the Dutch upon the account of the succession of Cleves; I do not see why we should not make ourselves indifferent to all these religions for the sake of maintaining tranquility in our dominions." Since a people must worship in some form, Frederick declared his intention to produce at the right time an eloquent preacher with a new doctrine. After a show of persecution, the Majesty of Prussia would ultimately embrace his system, and, awaiting the day, that faith had already been devised in the royal mind. In all of these confidential declarations of Frederick to his nephew, it is a question how much allowance to make for regal gusto and a sort of staginess which requires overstatement, and yet, in his career of bare-faced robbery and treachery and in his subordination of every interest to national and dynastic aggrandizement, we have perhaps the best possible commentary on these frankly machiavellian utterances. Having the qualities of genius which enabled him to succeed in the use of such methods, his life tended to glorify the philosophy of force, to raise it to a creed, and thus he left a fateful legacy to succeeding generations of Prussians.

## VI

We should not, in this age, be too complacent about the security of Christianity, for there are tremendous sinister forces at work in our world today which know not the Christian God. In the Nietzschean view Christianity is an Oriental dream, and its standards are to be regarded as not only impossible, but contemptible. This philosopher of might as against right declared:

"A good war will justify any cause. . . . Active sympathy for the weak is more dangerous for the human race than any other crime. . . . At the bottom of all distinguished races the beast of prey is not to be mistaken. To demand of strength that it should not assert itself as strength, that it should not be a will to oppression, a will to destruction, a will to domination, that it should not be athirst for foes and opposition and triumph, is precisely as senseless as to demand of weakness that it assert itself as strength."

One need not stop, perhaps, to denounce such teaching, but where in all topsy-turvydom could you find a more accurately stated negation of the principles of Christianity? And when we reflect that the aggregate will of powerful peoples may actually be enlisted in the championship of such anti-Christian views, the conviction grows that the simple faith of the Nazarene is, alas! very far from having the acceptance in our modern world which many of us had hoped. We needed not to be told that the world is full of indifferent Christians, but what we sometimes fail to appreciate, because the thought is too shocking for our comprehension, is that men dare frankly to repudiate the very heart of Christian teaching, to exalt brutality and ruthless force as virtues, and to throw contempt even upon those graces of Christian conduct which are common to all worthy religions.

Not unlike this tendency to discredit Christianity is that equally pernicious argument, often heard, that Christianity is itself combative, and calls for a forcible assertion of power. To prop this argument it is customary to quote Christ's declaration, "Think not that I am come to send peace on earth: I come not to send peace, but a sword" (*Matt. x, 34*). Some of Christ's utterances were "hard sayings," but to argue from this isolated passage that Christ preached war would be as reasonable as to assert that He deliberately counseled filial disloyalty and hatred because, to drive home a stern truth, He once said: "I am come to set a man at variance against his father . . . and a man's foes shall be they of his own household" (*Matt. x, 35, 36*).

Even the passages that can, by being snatched from their context, be distorted into a justification of war are exceedingly

few, and to derive such a conclusion one must deliberately ignore all the essential points in the Master's life and teaching which tended to exalt human brotherhood and vicarious love. But perhaps the worst of it is that all this is ordinarily done in a labored attempt to be scientific and present only the truth based on facts.<sup>2</sup>

From the standpoint of scientific or logical validity, this idea of the warlike nature of Christianity deserves to rank with the wise assertion that war is biologically necessary in order that the fittest may survive, an assertion which ignores the fact that the biological war of survival never takes place between members of the same species, and that the most warlike qualities, if predatory, are often the ones that soonest lead to extinction. This theory, which has unfortunately captured many learned men, is close kin to the claim that we must have war in order to preserve the manly virtues, or the crushing retort that human nature never changes and that therefore war will always be inevitable.

## VII

The religion that we have been observing in the foregoing pages is not recognizable as Christianity. It does not inhale the air of sacrifice: it does not breathe the spirit of the sermon on the mount. It is in fact, when its plain implications are followed up, a challenge to Christianity and an appeal to the Rule of Force. Where the ideal of Christianity calls for a searching of heart, this tribal religion thinks only of self-righteousness; where the New Testament speaks for a love which embraces all races, this negation of Christianity strengthens frontiers; where the cross would inspire a mission of social service, the tiara of imperial religion would accentuate national hatreds; where a purification of heart and life is required to precede the profession of the Christian life, the mark of birth among a favored people alone initiates a man into the exclusive privileges of this national cult. Where the power of Christianity works silently and by mere contact, as salt or leaven, this new paganism loses its effect without a

<sup>2</sup> An excellent example of this unsound reasoning which poses as relentless logic is to be found in Hudson Maxim, *Defenseless America*, 46-55.

conspicuous parading of itself. Where Christianity would counsel devoted sacrifice, humility of mind, vicarious effacement of self, this eagle-like religion would prey upon the weak, exploit the inferior, and measure its own exaltation by the degradation of its foes.

Such a faith, if called by its true name, would appear to be but a deification of force. It looks to its "good old God up there" as one might fondle a trusty, tried-and-true sword. Such a belief is of a piece with the glorification of Hindenburg, whose stout form and mastiff-like head, mostly jaw, have been lifted to view in an enormous wooden statue in Berlin—a not inappropriate symbol of the sort of thing that this war, with its destruction of cathedrals, has substituted for Christian art. To pervert Christianity is more dangerous than to oppose it. Where opposition would produce a healthful reaction and rally forces to the support of the faith, perversion slyly appropriates the sanctions of Christianity for the most questionable ends.

Would it not be in the interest of clearness if the terminology of Christianity were dropped altogether and the appeal made to those unshaven deities who were so appropriately in favor in the days when barbarism sought no disguise? The old kings of the North proudly claimed to be of the lineage of Woden and Thor, and we may perhaps be pardoned for comparing this claim with the unconscious tendency of some twentieth century rulers to associate themselves with divinity. We have interesting evidence, in the case of Emperor William, of a decided fondness for the heroes and gods of the old northern myths. A touch of the Kaiser's delight in the traditions of Wodenism was shown when he officiated at Bergen in June, 1892, at the launching of a small iron-clad of the German navy. "Oh, ship," he cried, "I christen you the *Heimdall*. You take your name from the prehistoric period of our sires of the North. You are to bear the name of a God to whom belonged the high mission of defending the golden portals of Walhalla. . . . O thou that art to carry the great name of *Heimdall*, I desire that the rumor of your advance may sow trouble and dismay in the ranks of your enemies."<sup>18</sup>

<sup>18</sup> This incident is described by M. de Nousanne, in the chapter cited at the outset of this article.

The Kaiser has the naming of warships. More recently the names selected for the navy and the merchant marine have been chosen to honor the members of the imperial dynasty and of other royal families in Germany, or of states in the German Confederation, but as M. de Noussanne points out, many of the names formerly selected hark back to the old Scandinavian mythology, as *Aegir*, *Frithjof*, *Odin*, *Beowulf*, and *Velleda*. It would indeed be amiss to criticize the appropriateness of these names, for they are very appropriate, but the point to be noted is that they suggest, quite possibly, a wistful lingering on the exploits and characters of a by-gone paganism.

In all this we would avoid implying any particular disparagement of Wodenism. In the Edda and the old Teutonic hero tales, we find a quality of heathen frankness which lifts them into the field of literature. In those primitive days when the wild, sinister forces of nature were still unsubdued, there was a quality of real grandeur in a Thor whose hammer could confound the giants. The battle-maidens, or Valkyries, were appropriate to that twilight of human development in which fighting was regarded as the only worthy activity of man. And, to the barbarian senses, the appeal of Walhalla, with its revelry and gore, was the most attractive way of sweetening death. We would not withhold respect from Wodenism, but if, in our modern time, religion is to be appealed to so often in connection with war's carnage, we would ask whether it would not be more appropriate to revert to a mythology which is so rich in the imagery of battle, and in which glorious fighting is the normal occupation of gods, heroes, kings, and men? Wodenism itself is more attractive than a Wodenized Christianity.

## Manual Labor Schools in the South

EDGAR W. KNIGHT

One of the most interesting variants of the academy movement, during the second quarter of the nineteenth century, was the manual labor school, an institution which combined literary instruction and manual labor. This educational idea appeared in America in the eighteenth century and was later widely advocated by educational leaders. Benjamin Franklin in his pamphlet entitled "Proposals Relating to the Education of Youth in Pennsylvania," which appeared near the middle of the century, urged the use of physical exercises for students. Cokesbury College which was founded at Abingdon, Maryland, in 1785—the first Methodist College in the world—combined manual labor and literary work. The students were not allowed to indulge in play, but carpentry, gardening, and farming were substituted; agricultural exercises were taken in connection with Virgil's *Georgics*.<sup>1</sup> The *Columbia Magazine*, of April, 1787, published in Philadelphia, contained a plan for a manual labor school; a few years later Dr. Benjamin Rush, of that city, loudly advocated the plan; and a little later Dr. John De La Howe, of South Carolina, showed a substantial interest in the idea and made provision for establishing such a school near Abbeyville in that State. Gymnastics for the early militia and physical training at West Point helped to call attention to the subject. Thomas Jefferson showed great interest in physical exercises when he planned the University of Virginia. Elsewhere, also, this idea as well as that of agricultural and mechanical work in educational institutions was being favorably and widely received.

The first manual labor school to be established in the United States seems to have been set up under the will of Dr. Howe, of Abbeyville District, South Carolina, who was mentioned above. In 1796 he left the bulk of his property in trust to the South Carolina Agricultural Society for establishing and maintaining an agricultural school at Lethe, the testator's place

<sup>1</sup> Steiner, *Cokesbury College, the First Methodist Institution for Higher Education*.

of residence, for twelve poor boys and twelve poor girls, who had been residents of Abbeyville District for six years. He left detailed instructions concerning the school, the plan of which he very probably got from the *Columbia Magazine* of April, 1787, which contained "a plan for establishing schools in a new country, where the inhabitants are thinly settled, and whose children were to be educated with a special reference to a country life." Under Dr. Howe's instructions orphans were to have preference as pupils and were to be boarded, clothed, educated, and taught to work; they were also required to make their own clothing. Besides reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, and geometry as far as surveying, the boys were to be taught also scientific agriculture and chemistry; and the girls, in addition to reading, writing, and the four common rules of arithmetic, were to be taught chemistry. Both boys and girls were to be instructed in "such chemical principles as the success of their different occupations depends on, as malting, brewing, distilling, baking, fixing colors, making vinegar, soap, cheese, butter, etc." If the accommodations were sufficient, other children in the neighborhood could be admitted also, the poor free of charge and others at a certain rate of tuition, provided they would conform to the rules of the school. In admitting the children no regard was to be had for their religious denominations; but they were to be instructed in the "general plain and practical parts of religion and morality," avoiding all "controverted points" and doctrines of sects. Industry, intelligence, and morals were the principal qualifications demanded of the teacher.

The South Carolina Agricultural Society resigned its trust in 1805, and under the provisions of the will the legislature of the state appointed trustees and directed them to make annual reports concerning the work. From that time until near the close of the nineteenth century a school was conducted at Lethe on the original endowment. In 1848 the report showed that the full number of boys and girls was in attendance, that the capital amounted to more than \$43,000, and that the school was being supported at an annual expenditure of about \$2,400. Eleven years later the funds amounted to \$47,000. The report for that year showed that the pupils

were engaged in manual labor half the time, the boys in farm work, and the girls in domestic occupations. The trustees were authorized to apprentice the boys for five years at the age of twelve, and the girls at the age of ten for the same period. A large part of the endowment seems to have been lost during the Civil War, however, and the school seems to have been suspended later for want of funds. But it had a long and useful career and furnished the means of education to a large number of poor children. From the evidence available the school at Lethe seems to have been the first manual labor school established in the United States.

Schools more or less similar to that established at Lethe sprang up here and there in the early part of the nineteenth century. The manual labor school experiment received its greatest impetus, however, through the industrial work of the Pestalozzian-Fellenberg movement which attracted wide attention in the United States during those years. Pestalozzi had taught farming and textile work at Neuhof, but it remained for his co-laborer, Fellenberg, to organize and operate an institution which successfully combined literary instruction and industrial labor. He established such a school at Hofwyl in Switzerland in 1806 which in a short time became well-nigh famous and attracted world-wide educational attention. Henry Barnard believed that this school, which continued until 1844, and in which the students pursued their literary work in the mornings and farmed in the afternoons, had a wider influence than any other institution in Europe or America in the nineteenth century. Through discussions concerning the "return to nature movement" and the work of the philanthropists, the public mind had already come to be more or less educated to an appreciation of the value of physical exercises for youth; and through reports on the work and influence of Pestalozzi and of Fellenberg, the need for physical exercises for students began to claim attention in the United States; and the agitation for giving them a place in the schools greatly enlarged.<sup>2</sup> This agitation proved more or less disappointing, however, although it resulted in a wide-spread realization of a need for attention to the physical conditions of students.

<sup>2</sup> It is interesting to recall that the "Brook Farm Experiment" also illustrates the idea of an attempted union of education and manual labor.

Confidence in the value of formal physical exercises gradually weakened and with the collapse of the formal gymnastics movement, Fellenberg's plan of combining manual labor and intellectual pursuits was eagerly seized upon as a means of preserving the health of students. Advocates of agricultural and mechanical work in educational institutions began to increase in number; but the movement did not gain much force until near the close of the first quarter of the nineteenth century. Interest in the experiment gradually increased, however, and for two decades or more manual labor schools sprang up in numerous places. The manual labor feature was introduced widely in theological institutions, colleges, and academies, and by 1830 there were numerous literary institutions in the United States in which it was a prominent feature. Wherever practicable, farms and shops were provided for such schools and the time of the students divided between manual labor and study. The preservation and invigoration of health were no doubt powerful motives in the introduction of the manual labor feature in many literary institutions during these years; but the supposed hygienic value of the plan probably had no more weight in promoting its adoption than its promising pecuniary advantage or its value as an agency for recruiting sectarian ranks. It was during this period, it will be remembered, that denominational controversies were very intense.

The theoretical side of the experiment culminated in the early thirties, by which time the movement had also attained considerable practical proportions. Elias Cornelius, editor of the *American Quarterly Register* and secretary of the American Education Society, and other educational leaders lectured and wrote on the Fellenberg system. In June, 1831, an enthusiastic meeting of manual labor advocates was held in New York, when the "Society for Promoting Manual Labor in Literary Institutions" was formed, and Theodore D. Weld was appointed as its general agent. Weld had been connected with the Oneida Manual Labor Institute at Whitesboro, New York, an institution made conspicuous by its manual labor feature from 1827 to 1834. He was enthusiastic in advocating the new system and made a tour of many states, including several

in the South, in the interest of the plan. In 1832 Weld made a report which contained the most elaborate presentation of the movement ever published, setting forth the claims of manual labor as a necessary part of a sound educational system. The report was published at New York in 1833.<sup>8</sup>

The report advanced many ingenious and apparently plausible arguments in favor of manual labor in educational institutions. It claimed that the system of education in practice at that time jeopardized the health of the students, tended to effeminate the mind, was perilous to the morals of the students, failed to stimulate effort, destroyed habits of industry, and was so expensive that its practical results were noticeably anti-democratic. Moreover, the report argued, the manual labor feature furnished the kind of exercise best suited to students. Military exercises, it was held, were proper in strictly military schools but were not adapted to any other educational institution and would not be "until fighting becomes the appropriate vocation of man and human butchery the ordinary business of life." Ordinary gymnastic exercises were not suitable because they lacked pecuniary value and were not productive of material resources. Manual labor promised to correct all these and numerous other educational defects. It would furnish physical exercises "natural to man" and adapted to intellectual interests, would produce happy moral effects, and equip students with valuable practical acquisitions. It would, moreover, promote habits of industry, independence of character and originality, render "permanent all the manlier features of character," and afford opportunity and facilities for "acquiring a knowledge of human nature." The plan promised to reduce the expense of education, to increase wealth, and make all forms of honest labor democratic and honorable by destroying "those absurd distinctions in society" which make one's occupation the standard of one's worth. Finally, also, it was claimed the manual labor feature in the schools would help to preserve republican institutions.

In spite of its nature, Weld's report contained material of considerable historical and educational interest. First of all, it gave much attention to the education of the time which

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<sup>8</sup> The copy which the author examined is in the Library of Congress.

was charged with working a "fearful havoc of health and life," and copious extracts were given from a wide testimony to show some of the evils alleged to result from the plan of education in operation in the schools and colleges of the period. That part of the report which urged attention to a rational system by which the physical needs of students could be cared for now has a fresh interest; and it is of especial interest in view of the rapidity with which many American schools and colleges recently abandoned the undecorated humbuggery of interscholastic and intercollegiate athletics, in which only a small part of the students participated, and turned immediate and serious attention to regular and systematic military drill in which practically all students participated.

On this question of physical exercise many competent witnesses testified. Dr. Miller, of Princeton Theological Seminary, said: "The waste of health, and strength, and life, which is daily going on among the youth of talent and high promise in every part of the land, is enough to make any intelligent observer weep." President Lindsley, of Nashville University, said in his inaugural address: "Youth at most public seminaries are liable to become effeminate, as to be rendered, without some subsequent change of habit, utterly unfit for any manly enterprise or employment. How frequently, too, do they fall victims of this ill-timed system of tenderness and seclusion!" President Cossitt, of Cumberland College, Kentucky, considered "a literary institution, which makes no provision for the regular exercise of its students, no better than a manufactory of invalids, and the slaughter-house of cultivated talent." A Reverend Mr. Frost, in an oration before the alumni of Middlebury College, said: "It is believed that at least one fourth of those who pass through a course of education for the learned professions, sink into a premature grave, or drag out a miserable and comparatively useless life, under a broken constitution." And Thomas H. Gallaudet, who had observed students at Yale, said: "So far as my personal observation has extended, I should consider it perfectly safe to say, that three-fourths of our diligent students impair their health by insufficient exercise, and probably it would be nearer the truth to call the proportion nine-tenths."

Equally competent witnesses testified that "The present system of education effeminate the mind," and others supported the statement that "The present system of education is perilous to morals." "Could the veil be lifted from some of our higher seminaries," said one witness, "and all the sources of youthful corruption be exposed, the better part of the community would demand an immediate reform, or withhold their patronage." Another declared: "It is a fact that ought not to be disguised, that the morals of youth frequently become corrupted in our academies and colleges." And Weld added: "This is not the only way in which the moral character is put in jeopardy, and the moral sensibilities are blunted by the present system. The state of the body occasioned by neglect of exercise corrodes the temper, and deadens moral feeling." Constant occupation was recommended by all as the most effectual security against external and internal causes of corruption, without which no system of discipline can be efficient: exercise promoted virtue and subdued the storms of passion. A system of manual labor would not only promote health but would exclude many of those plans of mischief which are made and executed in times of relaxation from study. Tricks of youthful collegians came in for their share of attention in the discussions of those who advocated labor schools.

According to its advocates, the manual labor system of education would furnish the students with facilities for acquiring a knowledge of human nature. The substance of the argument was about as follows:

"Let the students put on a working dress and spend three hours a day in agricultural or mechanical employment, and they would disarm the laboring man of his prejudices, and beckon him toward them. That discontent, jealousy, envy, disgust, and those heart burnings, which keep in a ferment the laboring classes in the vicinity of our higher seminaries, would give place to kindlier feelings. These classes would become approachable; a brotherhood would be established, and the student would enjoy a variety of facilities for acquiring a knowledge of men as they are, which would otherwise be denied him. . . . . Moreover, absurd distinctions in society

would disappear if the manual labor system of education prevailed: "Let the contents of our sixty colleges, and fifty professional seminaries, with a thousand academies and high schools, pour themselves into our fields and workshops, and there, for three hours each day, ply the implements of agriculture and the mechanic arts, would it not have a powerful tendency to render labor honorable, and the laboring man more respected? Would it not create sympathies between the learned and the laboring classes, a permanent community of feeling, and identity of interests? The thousand repulsions arising from dissimilarity of habits, which have so long operated to estrange them from each other, cease with the causes which produced them. Instead of being driven asunder by jealousies, and smothered animosities, they approach each other with looks of kindness, and form a compact, based upon republican equality, and the interchange of mutual offices of courtesy and kindness. He who does not perceive in such a system a tendency to these results, has mingled little with men; and however profound in other things, is a novice in human nature."

Objections to the system were hurriedly considered and as rapidly dismissed as unsound, "absurd," "sentimental," and "ridiculous." Some of the strongest objections were: "The manual labor system will have a tendency to destroy a graceful carriage, and make the student stiff-jointed and awkward in his movements;" it will have "a tendency to make the student a sloven;" it will "degrade the mind, making it dull and plodding, and restraining the excursions of genius"; if the labor should be required, "a youth of high spirit would never submit to it." If it were optional, "a high-minded young man would feel himself above such drudgery." "There is no necessity of making exercise a part of the system, or of making public provision for it. Let the student be urged to exercise, and then be left to manage for himself." Another objection was: "If the manual labor system is generally adopted, and institutions are established upon that plan, it will operate unfavorably upon existing institutions, by drawing away their students." Finally, the objection was made that the system was impracticable, "inasmuch as some manual labor schools have failed," and that it was unpopular with the teachers and pupils.

Both the objections and the answers to them are of historical interest; certainly they suggest the "faddishness" of the manual labor experiment.

The "Society for Promoting Manual Labor in Literary Institutions" had a short life of activity. Weld served as its general agent only one year and his successor was never appointed. The popularity of the movement which the organization was formed to promote was likewise short-lived. But in the thirties and forties several institutions introduced the manual labor feature, having been stimulated no doubt by the work of Weld and his society.

The experiment was especially popular in several of the Southern States. The Virginia Baptist Seminary, from which Richmond College developed, for a short time made manual labor compulsory for all its students. Emory and Henry, founded by the Methodists in Virginia in 1838, included manual labor as a part of its required program. The students worked on the farm for two hours in the afternoons and received a few cents an hour for their work. Later the compulsory feature of the scheme was abandoned, but the institution retained manual labor for a few years as a voluntary feature. Efforts seem to have been made, but without success, to introduce the manual labor plan in Hampden-Sydney College.

The Donaldson Academy and Manual Labor School was chartered by the legislature of North Carolina in 1833. The trustees "cast themselves upon the munificence of an enlightened community" and secured the sum of \$14,000 in subscriptions. A site was purchased on Hay Mount, near Fayetteville, and in 1834 the school was begun. This enterprise was under the auspices of the Presbyterians and was put in charge of the Reverend Simeon Colton, "an able, efficient and experienced instructor," who for a number of years had been connected with similar work at Amherst, Massachusetts. The trustees were unable to collect all the money subscribed, and in 1836 they memorialized the legislature for assistance from the literary fund of the state to establish a teachers' department in the school and to complete the equipment of the manual labor department, "where the students might devote a portion of their time to labor, thus securing to themselves better

health by exercise and diminishing at the same time the expense of education." The committee to whom the memorial was referred believed, however, that the literary fund should be used to aid common schools, and the petition was not granted.<sup>4</sup> The manual labor feature was soon discarded in the school. Colton became convinced that "close habits of study and manual labor were incompatible."

The experiment was likewise tried at what is now Davidson College, North Carolina, which was founded by the Presbyterians. In laying the foundation the trustees planned to make the college "thorough by electing to its chairs the most scholarly men that could be obtained in the Presbyterian Church. It could, it was fondly hoped, be made cheap by adopting the 'Manual Labor System' then so much mooted in educational circles, and put into practice in several northern colleges." Interest was soon taken in the plan and the records of the Presbytery of Concord, in session at Prospect Church, in Rowan County, show the following paper under date of March, 1835:

"Presbytery, taking into consideration the importance of a more general diffusion of useful knowledge, and the expediency of adopting some system of sound and thorough education, that may be accessible to all classes of the community, and having heard with pleasure that the Manual Labor System, as far as it has been tried, promises the most happy results in training up youth to virtuous and industrious habits, with well cultured minds, unanimously

*"Resolved*, That this Presbytery, deeply impressed with the importance of securing the means of education to young men, within our bounds, of hopeful piety and talents preparatory to the gospel ministry, undertake (in humble reliance upon the blessing of God) the establishment of a *Manual Labor School*; and that a committee be appointed to report at the next meeting of Presbytery the best measures for its accomplishment and the most favorable places for its location."<sup>5</sup>

The plan collapsed at Davidson after three or four years trial. A large number of the students were sons of farmers

<sup>4</sup> *Legislative Documents of North Carolina, 1836-37.*

<sup>5</sup> Quoted in *Semi-Centenary Addresses of Davidson College, 1887*, pp. 33, 34.

and had learned to work in the fields before taking up their collegiate studies; and they naturally thought it a loss of time to plow and cut wood while at college. A similar experiment was made at Wake Forest, a Baptist institution in North Carolina, but with the same or similar results.

South Carolina saw the manual labor feature tested in several instances. In the various reports of the free school commissioners to the legislature of that state in 1839, when the school system was critically examined, some of the commissioners who reported believed that the introduction of the manual labor feature would help solve the persistent educational problem which confronted the state during those years. But the report of Professors James H. Thornwell and Stephen Elliott, who were instructed to study the commissioners' reports and to suggest an educational plan for the state, was unfavorable to the manual labor scheme. "Neither would the manual labor system meet the difficulties of the case," they said: "for besides that they have proved egregious failures in almost every instance, they are not suitable to the tender years of those who fall properly within the ages of school instruction."<sup>6</sup> Despite this opinion, however, the plan seems to have been experimented with at Cokesbury or Bethel School by the Methodists; at Erskine, by the Associated Reformed Presbyterians; at Furman, by the Baptists; and at Pendleton, by "working citizens;" but in practically every case with the usual unsatisfactory results.

A manual labor school was opened at Eatonton, Georgia, in 1832, under the auspices of the Baptists of that State, though Adiel Sherwood seems to have promoted the enterprise very largely on his own responsibility. The denomination soon lent its support, however, and the school "flourished beyond the expectations of the most sanguine." The following year this school was discontinued and a more pretentious manual labor plant was set up, under the same auspices, near Greensboro, in Greene County. Three or four teachers were engaged for the work and thirty pupils enrolled the first year. During the next few years the attendance was about eighty or

<sup>6</sup> *Reports on the Free School System, to the General Assembly of South Carolina*, p. 6. This document is rare and very valuable. The author has in his possession a photostat reproduction of the copy owned by the Library of Congress.

ninety, "and always more applicants than can be accommodated." In 1837 the school owned a thousand acres of land, large convenient buildings, large stocks of horses, cattle, and hogs, and the students labored "from two to three hours a day, growing cotton, corn, and potatoes, and are happy." In that year they had in a high state of cultivation ten acres of potatoes, fifty acres of oats, sixty acres of cotton, and seventy acres of corn. "These will produce, no doubt, one thousand bushels of potatoes, the same quantity of oats, one hundred bushels of corn, and thirty bags of cotton." "The Lord has prospered the school," the report continued; "in the first year a large number of the students professed religion." Other manual labor schools in Georgia were established at McIntosh in 1832, near Athens in 1833, at Medway, in 1835, and at Covington, in 1835, all of which were controlled by religious denominations.

The one at Covington was known as the Georgia Conference Manual Labor School and operated on a large scale. "An area of about three acres is enclosed by the buildings of the institution, covered with beautiful shade trees, of the natural growth. The scene is picturesque and rural." The plant and equipment consisted of twelve "students' houses," a superintendent's house, a steward's house, a steward's hall, an administrative and scholastic building, a chapel, two large barns and twelve stables, and more than two thousand "acres of good farming land, about 700 cleared, and in good repair," nine horses, two wagons, one yoke of oxen, one cart, thirty-three cows, and 250 hogs. The school also had "a very valuable astronomical, philosophical, and chemical apparatus, excelled by few in the country." In 1837 the officers consisted of a superintendent, a teacher of mathematics, a teacher of languages, an assistant in English, a steward, and a farmer. The students numbered 120, more than one-half of whom were boarding students. The school year was divided into two terms: one commenced the first of January and ended the middle of July, and the other began July 25 and closed the first of December. The students received board for \$1.25 a week, laundry for seventy-five cents a month, tuition for \$2.50 per month, and room rent for \$2 per term. The salary

of the superintendent was \$1250; the teacher of mathematics and the teacher of languages each received \$800 and board.<sup>7</sup>

In Arkansas the manual labor school was able to attract a measure of attention. The experiment was tried in Benton Academy, in Saline County, which was chartered in 1842-43, and in the Far West Seminary, in Washington County, which was chartered in 1844-45. It is of interest to note also that the trustees of the township schools, established in 1843, were authorized to establish "a laboring school wherein the students shall be required to labor a portion of the day."<sup>8</sup> In several other states efforts were made to use the manual labor plan. In 1832 some friends of the scheme undertook to establish a school with the manual labor feature in a community near Tallahassee, Florida, but the undertaking was not successful. In Maury County, Tennessee, a manual labor school was chartered about 1829, but little is known of its history or of the purpose of its incorporators.

Practically all the institutions which tested the experiment soon abandoned it as unsatisfactory and impracticable, and the movement finally collapsed. Practical difficulties rather than the inherent weaknesses of the principles underlying the plan cooled enthusiasm for it. The extreme faddishness of the experiment appears when it is noted that the introduction of athletics in educational institutions has proved only an indifferent substitute for the physical features promised by the manual labor plan. But the idea of that plan was not lost. Instead, it appeared in the Morrill Act of 1862 which greatly influenced industrial education in the United States, and in another form it has appeared in the manual training movement of recent years, which is no doubt achieving some of the more creditable purposes which the earlier movement sought to attain.

<sup>7</sup> Sherwood, *A Gazetteer of Georgia*, pp. 324-327.

<sup>8</sup> Laws of Arkansas, February, 1843.

## Walt Whitman to His Followers

MARY HALL LEONARD

"What is it you bring my America?

\* \* \* \* \*

Does it answer universal needs? Will it improve manners?"

—Walt Whitman.

Walt Whitman was not the first poet to write in free verse. In 1760 MacPherson published Ossian's poems, which created a sensation in Europe and seem partly responsible for the free verse that was written in France some time before it became popular in England and America. MacPherson speaks of the "fetters of rime" and says that the form of the Ossian poems is freer from constraint in the choice of words than ordinary verse can be. A few years after the appearance of "Ossianism," William Blake, who was an artist of revolt both in painting and poetry, used a similar form in his "Marriage of Heaven and Hell."

But there can be no doubt that Whitman, whose poetry received higher approval in England than among his own contemporaries in America is in a sense the forerunner and founder of the new school in American poetic art.

The New Movement in poetry has two elements, however, 'imagination' and *vers libre*. Imagism records the writer's vivid and instantaneous impression of an object, all related ideas being ruled out. Free verse throws off the fetters of rime and meter, and uses the rhythm of prose (usually of cadenced or "lyrical" prose) instead of the metrified rhythm that was formerly considered essential to verse. It also takes the appearance of verse by being written in lines or "versicles," divided on some other basis than that of exact meter, and it is therefore called by Saintsbury and others, "Stave-end poetry" or "hybrid-verse-prose."

To quote from a writer in *The Little Review*, a magazine devoted to the interests of the new poetry, "Do not confuse *vers libre* and imagination. One relates to verse, the other to vision." Yet while the two have no necessary connection they

grow out of similar conditions of modern thought and often accompany each other.

But not always! Emily Dickinson has been called "an early imagist poet." She was also somewhat lawless in regard to rime and meter; yet she did not write free verse in the modern sense. On the other hand "Spoon River Anthology" is in free verse. Yet its subject matter is "interpretations of life" supposed to be given by persons who are dead, and not the writer's own sensuous impressions.

The imagists strive to use direct and intensive language, ruling out every superfluous word, and avoiding archaic words and those that have been considered peculiar to poetry,—as *doth, hath, morn, eve*, etc. In their efforts to give absolute personal impressions, they are often egoistic and their writings bristle sometimes with the pronoun *I*. Philosophy and idealism, especially moral idealism, are out of favor. To quote from their own writings, "Noble thoughts are anathema to the imagist poet" who is "in firm reaction against the sentimental hypocrisies of the Mid-Victorian era."

To the imagist poets all things that exist are equally good subjects for poetry. "Things really happen so," they say, and in their effort not to blink realities it sometimes seems as if they consider the unpleasant things of life most worthy of the poetic setting. Yet the charge of "moral rottenness" sometimes brought against them is by no means fair to all the writers of the New Poetry. If they were really opposed to morality theirs would indeed be a losing cause. Yet they do not wish to give direct expression to moral truths. In the words of Amy Lowell, "The New Poetry is like the world of reality: the morals are there, but it is for us, the readers, to pronounce them."

Most of the writers of free verse have adopted most of these tenets of imagism. Yet there are so many differences in their skill and manner of applying them, and also so much difference in the quality of the cadenced prose rhythm which they use, and in the basis on which they divide their free verse into lines or versicles, that there seem to be about as many kinds of free verse as there are persons who write it.

But to return to Walt Whitman. In his egoism, his conviction that all things are suitable for poetry, and in his freedom from all fetters of rime and meter he is not surpassed by any of the free versifiers of today. As he writes,

"Free, fresh, savage,  
Fluent, luxurious, self content, fond of persons and places,  
\* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \*  
Solitary, singing in the west, I strike up for a New World."

Yet in one respect Whitman differs from the poets of the new age. He belonged to the Victorian epoch, and had no prejudice against expressing in his poetry his own philosophic ideas of life, and in trying also to teach these to others, as is shown by his question, "Will it improve manners?" His followers of today would say that they do not try to "improve manners," but simply to report things as they see them.

Whitman's questions were not asked directly of his "followers," nor could he have foreseen, while his contemporaries were turning the cold shoulder on his writing, that in the twentieth century his followers would be so numerous as they seem to be today. Yet to these new poets his question is pertinent:

"What is it you bring my America?"

The new poets have brought something of value into American poetry. They have added conciseness in expression, an enlargement in the range of subjects treated, and some of them who are real poets have also produced new and very striking metaphors and poetical conceits.

They have also added to the older forms of verse one that will undoubtedly live and continue to be used—not exclusively, nor probably so often as in the recent past, but one that may be used by genuine poets whenever (as was undoubtedly the case with William Blake in his Prophetic books) it suits the artist's needs better than the older forms of metrified verse can do.

As to the amount of final value to be placed on this free verse form, the time is not yet ripe for a final verdict. Free verse is still in a state of ferment, and has not fully found itself.

To most poetry lovers, however, although it is a good addition to the recognized verse forms, it does not represent (as some claim) an "advanced artistry" over the older verse. Although most of the masters of free verse have shown themselves capable of writing good poetry in rime and meter, the new movement has also brought into the field of verse writing a considerable number of weak poets (or poeticales) who seem to have little genuine poetry in their thought, and apparently would be unable to express themselves under the technical burdens of meter and rime.

It must be confessed also that most of the free verse that has been published, even the best of it, reads much like the "notes for poems" found in every poet's notebook, thoughts jotted down in a moment of inspiration, awaiting the time of leisure when they can be moulded into a finished form.

While some things of value may be accredited to the new poetry, there may be other entries to be made on the debit side. If the new poetry lowers the tone of our thinking, if it makes us forget that the highest beauty after all is moral beauty, its gifts to America will be more than counterbalanced by the stain it leaves on literature.

No true poet wishes to revive the didacticism of the Age of Pope, nor would assume that direct teaching should be the aim of poetry which is essentially an esthetic art. Yet philosophy, moral idealism, religion even, are not foreign to the beauty that may be enshrined in poetry. Not only do the Psalms and the writings of the Second Isaiah give us the highest reach of Hebrew Poetry, but in their translation even, they furnish us with some of the highest poetry in the English tongue as well.

Again, if the new poets expect poetry lovers to turn against the immortal poetry of the Victorian age they are on a false track. The poetry of Tennyson and Browning, of Lowell and Sidney Lanier, the musical measures of Swinburne and the stirring notes of Kipling's ballads have a hold on the poetical affections of America which is beyond comparison with anything that the so called "Georgian poets" have thus far achieved.

Shakspere and Milton also still remain the great masters of English poetry and beside their works much of the self-conscious poetry of the present age looks trivial. The new poets cannot detract from the fame of the immortals of past ages, and if they are worthy to come into this goodly company they will not wish to.

Nor can free verse supplant the forms of metrified verse which are as beautiful today as they ever were. It can only hope to add its own "great formlessness" to the other recognized verse patterns.

About the highest achievement of the new poetry is that it has kindled a new interest in poetry itself. But because it has done so, and has fastened the eyes of the literary world upon poetic art, there is special need for the free verse writers to ponder Whitman's question,

"What is it you bring my America?

\* \* \* \* \*

Does it answer universal needs?"

## On the Death of Stonewall Jackson

DANIEL BEDINGER LUCAS  
Author of "The Land Where We Were Dreaming"

[The present paper is the second part of a striking eulogy of Jackson which was written by Judge Daniel Bedinger Lucas about 1869 and partially printed in the *Southern Metropolis*. In it the author shows characteristic courage and loyalty by paying high tribute to Jefferson Davis in the days of defeat and adversity. Readers will find the first part of the essay in the January QUARTERLY of the present year under the title "Stonewall Jackson: The Christian Warrior." The introduction to the paper in the January number contains a brief sketch of the distinguished career of Judge Lucas. Through the kindness of Miss Virginia Lucas, the daughter of Judge Lucas, the QUARTERLY has been able to obtain this eloquent oration on Jackson for publication.—THE EDITORS.]

General Lee's dispatch of the 3rd of May [1863], announcing the battle of Chancellorsville, commenced auspiciously, "Yesterday General Jackson penetrated to the rear of the enemy, and drove him from all his positions, from the Wilderness to within one mile of Chancellorsville." But the joy of the Confederate capital was dampened by its concluding sentence, that "General Jackson was severely wounded." The enthusiastic had believed he bore a charmed life. The glad notes of victory were soon hushed to silence by the announcement of the danger in which his life now hung suspended. Finally, on Tuesday, the tenth of May, the inquiries of the city were but too sadly answered by the dispatch of the faithful Pendleton—a name ever associated with Jackson's in the hearts and memory of his countrymen—saying "General Jackson died at fifteen minutes past three this afternoon. His remains will go to Richmond tomorrow." And on the morrow they came, and were conveyed to the mansion of the Governor of Virginia.

The next day all business was suspended; the grief of the people was solemn; silent, deep, unutterable—such as it has remained to this day—a great volume of tideless grief like the Baltic Sea, which knows neither flux nor reflux. A new flag

was folded about the coffin, of dimensions approved by the Committee on the National Ensign—length 24 feet, width two-thirds of the length, union two-thirds of the width, saltier eighteen inches wide, wide edging two and a quarter inches, stars fifteen inches from point to point and placed twenty inches apart from centre to centre, bending six inches in width. Such was the new ensign which coming to a nation without a flag, was destined to become a flag without a nation. Its first office was now typical—its cross and white field emblematic of the faith and spotless character of the dead captain whom it shrouded.

I heard no bells, nor other sound in token of the dead, save the boom of the signal cannon at the foot of Virginia's monument to her immortal sons.

Here again, and for the last time, the deep-mouthed cannon was sounding out this noise—Jackson, but the hero's form was as mute, as motionless as the statues above him, doubly imperishable, in glory and in bronze! Every hero has his Eternal Attitude—the attitude which the world conceived him as having practiced on earth to assume in the Pantheon of Fame. There was Washington with sword and index finger—the father of his country and the monitor of the future; there was Henry in the grand climax of St. John's Church; there was Jefferson with a scroll in his hand, involving the principles which both nations professed to reverence, but the benefit of which each stubbornly refused to accord to others; there was George Mason, in a posture of warning eloquence, deprecating the delegation of that sovereignty on the part of Virginia which it was now costing her so much blood and treasure to resume; and there were some vacant niches which Virginia shall not hesitate to fill, in that day when our children shall build up the tombs of the prophets whom their fathers slew. Jackson, too, for whom this cannon booms, practiced here on her soil his eternal attitude, and did not die before the study was complete.

Napoleon, in front of his flag, surmounted by the brazen eagle, "*ses deux bras croisés sur sa poitrine*"—his arms folded above his breast—revolving the destiny of empires; Caesar at the tomb of Achilles, or pausing on the Thessalian stream,

brought to a stand by that doubt with which history still knits her brow; Nelson, on the prow of the *Victory* at Trafalgar, giving out those sublime words to Englishmen; Columbus on the beach of a new world—all these have their eternal attitudes, and, the moment I mention their names, they stand out in round projection before you. But in the Temple Jackson is standing too; and I dare to say that not Napoleon with brow and frontal scope moulded like the imperial globe; not Alexander, with the divine light of Empire in his eyes, for whom Mt. Athos was to be hewn a statue, with a city in the right hand and a far-sweeping river in the left; not Julius "foremost man of all this world," whose empire was bounded by the ocean and his fame by the stars; not Gustavus Adolphus, on the banks of the Rhine, where he afterwards stood as a marble lion, with sword and helmet, in the heart of the German Empire for two centuries—none of these will be a figure more imperishable than that in a faded suit of grey, with the soiled and weatherbeaten cap, seated on his horse, overlooking the field of battle, his hand outstretched to the sky, his face upturned to Heaven, underwritten by the finger of Fame: "Jackson on the field of battle, supplicating God for victory!"

It was of this figure that this cannon beneath Virginia's monument spoke to those vacant niches on this sad 12th of May, 1863.

I saw the procession, and noted its members and order as it filed through the main street of the devoted capital. The Chief Marshal was General George W. Randolph, a grandson of Thomas Jefferson. Had the procession been divided into three parts, with the hearse at the front attended by its guard, and the Governor of Virginia with the city authorities in the rear, about the centre would have been a carriage with an occupant on whose features were stamped unmistakable traces of great sorrow. A man with erect, military figure, clad in neat grey, was at this period to be seen once or twice a day traversing the capitol square. His was a head on the classic model, and his features to my observation had somewhat of the poetic cast; the expression thoughtful and careworn, the cheeks thin and deeply furrowed, the nose not small, but delicate and Grecian, the mouth beautifully chiseled, with an upper lip of

firmness and the lower one swelling under it with a fine touch of sentiment—neither the warrior's nor the diplomat's mouth, but rather that of the prophet, or of some sweetly-balanced orator.

"A live dog is more to be dreaded than a dead lion." There is a dead lion now, less to be dreaded than many living dogs who are baying at him. And yet there was a time when this man-lion walked the Southern land calling for his rights as the Libyan lion roars through the desert for his young. He called and thousands of mailed warriors responded—but in vain. Therefore, he is now an obsolete hero—obsolete to all the purposes of his former career. There is nothing left him now but to die with a dignity worthy of his life. He has fulfilled his mission, as had Jackson in whose honor, and with great grief, he was there present on that sad twelfth of May, eighteen hundred and sixty-three. If the principles for which both contended are true, as I verily believe, then their lives forfeited in their defense were perhaps the best defense of them of which the present day is capable; and he is but a poor philosopher and worse Christian who believes that Truth can ever die, or that the pressure of external force can ever settle, in the sense of justly deciding, fundamental moral principles.

It is impossible for me to speak of Jackson's life without adverting to the Cause for which he imperilled and, in the end, sacrificed it. And now that I have in presence of his dead body the true representative Leader of that Cause, I deem it more appropriate to answer the question of its justice.

We are told by the politicians that the South appealed to war, and the issue has been decided against her, and therefore she must bury the dead issue. Now, I know of no proposition more at variance with the truth in its premises, or more illogical in its conclusion. The South did not appeal to war; the North appealed to war, and the South to God. War has decided the issue in one way; God perhaps in another. One war bears the same relation to the contest for a principle that one battle does to a war; and the first Manassas no more decided the struggle against the North, than has the first war decided the principle of self-government, for which she contended, against the South. I do not say that the principle must of

necessity be submitted to the arbitrament of another war, although many indications point in that direction; nor, if a second war should occur, do I maintain that it must necessarily be upon the same theatre or between the same parties; but what I do say is that the question once submitted is still pending before the tribunal of high Heaven, and, in the end, the judgment must be in favor of the right and therefore the principle of self-government must in the end triumph.

The men and women who have now lost faith, and are ready to quarrel with God at the result, forget that the protest of right against might persists forever; and when they are prepared to throw up their hands and exclaim that all is lost—there in the councils of Him with whom a thousand years are but as a watch in the night, the contest may not yet be fairly opened.

We commenced the late contest for Liberty with four millions of slaves; and many of us proved that they had rather retain the latter than surrender them as the price of the former. Now, I do not say that war has decided that Slavery was wrong; but I do say that God (as far as I dare interpret Him), has so decided; and that the man who looks forward to its resuscitation should be laid away among the fossiliferous specimens of the last decade—carefully laid away and labelled “1859.” I do not say that men like Jackson, who regarded slavery as the only solution of the problem presented by the contact of the two races consistent with the existence of both, and who did all they could to ameliorate the hard condition of the inferior race—were guilty of any crime; on the contrary, I know them to have been innocent in conscience. The misfortune was that there were so few Jacksons among us, and that *self-interest* prompted the majority of our people to do what, when thus done, becomes a crime—to enslave a fellow creature. These were the men who would rather remain in political bondage, holding them, than to live as freemen without their slaves. These were the men whom I believe God rebuked, saying to them: Ye who struggle for national self-government, learn that it is but an extension of the principle of individual self-government; and, teaching you first, I will in

the end teach both you and your enemies that this principle is right, and must and shall prevail!

But let it not be supposed that I am ignorant that the war was not waged on account of Slavery. The true issue is eliminated by simply placing in *juxta-position* two historical utterances. Said Mr. Lincoln in his first inaugural: "We do not fight to abolish Slavery, but to restore the Union." Said Jefferson Davis to the semi-official Commission who sounded him as to the amicable adjustment of the controversy: "We do not fight for slavery, but for Independence." Here then was the issue—the right of each State to govern itself. Jackson thought Virginia had this right; and, in vindication of the justice of his view, it would only be necessary to place side by side two other historical documents: the one the ratification by the people of Virginia of the Constitution of the United States on the 25th day of June, 1788, and the other the repeal and abrogation of the same act by the ordinance of April 17th, 1861; the one the delegation of specific powers by an admitted Sovereign, and such only as a Sovereign could delegate; and the other the resumption of those powers in the case contemplated and provided for by the very act of delegation! If these passages from history do not make a platform broad and strong enough to support a man who believed himself right, then Jackson must fall. The intelligence of this present time has decided in his favor; and there is little danger of this verdict's being set aside in the future. Rather shall it be confirmed by posterity, and ratified by history; so that Jackson shall not only be spoken of always, but shall be always well spoken of—his name itself a benediction throughout all ages.

Thus much for the Cause in which he perished. Yet all men should distinguish between duties and rights. The one may be waived, the other cannot be neglected or omitted. Duty may permit, may demand the waiving or even relinquishment of a right; but she must ever protest against that base apostasy which forswears the truth and consents to brand with infamy the brave who have dared and died in its defense. The Scots might well and consistently have acquiesced in and consented to a permanent union under the Hanoverian dynasty; but it

would have been unpardonable to brand with treason those who died bravely at Culloden for legitimacy and the Pretender.

These principles are perfectly plain, and, when understood, limit at once both what should be required of the South from a Northern standpoint, and what she can yield from her own.

But the misfortune is that they who lead and instruct the governing classes have neither elevating sentiments, purity of motive, nor range of comprehension. Hence inextricable confusion and the danger of perpetual anarchy; hence a vulgar and exacting tyranny in the North, and in the South no proper medium between a stubborn and senseless and unchristian resentment on the one hand and a miserable abasement which stoops to ask for pardon on the other.

O this were a theme—were any to be found equal to it—not the death of this or that single hero or heroine, but the Heroic Death of a Nation! This is a text to make us weep that there is no Prophet left in all the land! Yet let these humble tombs—each one a sermon to teach men how to die—point the lessons of our country's martyrdom, while our unshaken faith in God applies them to fill our hearts with the hope of resurrection in the future; and, though we cannot, like the Athenians, honor our dead at the public expense with magnificent sepulture, and introduce their children, educated by the public, before the people, clothed in splendid arms as the sons of those brave and deserving men who died for the republic, let us at least, true Catholics in the Church of Patriotism, record their names upon the altars of our grateful hearts, and send a whole people's masses and orisons up to Heaven in celebration of their immortal memories!

As a brave man struggling with adversity is a sight to please the gods, so doubly glorious is it to present a whole nation, bearing with dignity and fortitude the loss of its liberty; and as it is from the Winepress that old Falernian vintage flows and grows better with the mellowing ages; as it is from the bruised leaves that the balsam sheds its drops of healing, precious ointment; so is it from conquered nations that great principles germinate and bloom, and infoliate the world with new luxuriance, and feed mankind with the ripe fruit of their vir-

tue. It was only when conquered that Phoenicia carried light and letters into Greece; it was only when conquered that Jerusalem gave Christianity to Rome; and only when conquered that Rome gave laws to the world! Thus do conquered nations conquer their conquerors! . . . . These, dear, darling dead of ours have not died in vain! . . . . They shall rise again; and Jackson rising with them, like some Magnificent Builder, shall bound the empire of Fame, as Hadrian, Trajan and Antoninus, the three noblest of the Caesars, encompassed that of Rome—with a Stonewall!

And with them shall rise too the man whom I saw in the procession weeping for Jackson—the Great Unpardoned, who still with soul erect and all undismayed asks absolution from none but God! He, the leading character in the great Drama the first act of which is over, still sustains his rôle, that all the world may bear him witness that from prologue to epilogue he, at least, was an Actor worthy of his part. His mission is full—his career finished, and there is nothing left him now but to close the book and fold his hands and sit him down and die. This is all for this day and time; but embalmed in memory, he shall live coevally with the principles he represented and impersonated, and with which he is but buried to survive forever in their resurrection. Hector was slain, Socrates condemned, Caesar assassinated, Dante banished; Charles I executed; Napoleon exiled; Christ crucified; yet a second Ilium more mighty than the first returned in triumph to the Achaian shores when the Greeks were scattered, Socrates taught again in Plato; when the conspirators had perished by violence, Caesar revived triumphant in Augustus; though Dante died in exile, broken-hearted, his countrymen a century afterwards came and begged back his body from the strangers, and the strangers would not give it up; when Cromwell failed to found a dynasty, Charles I survived Marston Moor; though the Bourbons are banished, Napoleon reigns still in the son of Louis; though the Jews are outcasts from Jerusalem, Christ crucified hath risen from the dead and sitteth on the right hand of God in the glory of the Father! Then the history of the world teaches us that, in whatever form, on whatever day, and by

whatever means, President Davis, clothed in the youth of an eternal principle, shall have his Resurrection too. His term is immortality!

They who have ears to hear, may hear the Spirit of God saying unto the angel of our political church, as plainly as in Patmos to the Angel of the Church of Smyrna: "Fear none of those things which thou shalt suffer. Behold the Devil shall cast some of you into prison that ye may be tried; and ye shall have tribulation ten periods. Be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life!"

## The Effects of Bonds and Taxes in War Finance

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Vague and erroneous ideas about war finance are perhaps more general than about any other matter of such vital importance in the great struggle which we have entered. Even among those otherwise well informed, including many in business and banking itself, the prevalence and persistence of incorrect and even fallacious ideas regarding the fundamentals of war financing are little short of amazing. Editors of our leading journals and directors of financial institutions point out almost daily our inability to meet the expenditures of a great war during the war period and the advisability of postponing part of the cost to the future so that posterity, which shall share the benefits, may share also its burdens. They have failed to distinguish between internal and foreign financing; they have failed to grasp the significance of President Wilson's war message in its urgent appeal to Congress to resort to taxation and "to protect our people, so far as we may, against the very serious hardships and evils which would be likely to arise out of the inflation which would be produced by vast loans."

After pointing out the advantages of an initial bond issue, this article will undertake to show, first, how a continued resort to borrowing will inflate our purchasing medium and cause prices to rise exorbitantly, as taxation will not; second, why the cost of our part of the war not only can, but must, be met during the war period and that no part of the burden can really be postponed; third, how adequate funds may be raised by taxation without resort to further bond issues; fourth, why the taxation policy will be more just and mobilize our resources more effectively than will a continuance of the bond policy; and, fifth, why the taxation policy will make easier necessary readjustments after the war.

Practically all economists admit the desirability of an initial bond issue at the outbreak of war to secure funds quickly while taxation machinery is being put in order. Furthermore, a successful \$7,000,000,000 bond issue will impress ourselves,

our friends and our enemies; it will give our movement a tremendous momentum from the very start. In some ways it will make the diversion of labor and capital to war industries more natural and gradual than would too heavy taxation at the outset. But the continuance of the bond policy as the chief method of raising funds would be exceedingly unwise.

According to *The Annalist*, the cost of living has risen 64% in the twelve months ending May 5, 1917. This means that a man with a fixed wage or salary of \$1,000 has had his income cut to \$610 as compared with a year ago, or to \$529 as compared with pre-war conditions. This is in addition to the cut caused by high prices which had been our chief complaint for several years prior to 1914. Of course, those with large incomes could spare one-third or one-half of the total and still have left much more than a minimum of subsistence, but few of us realize the sacrifice involved for the great majority of families of this country, for their incomes are considerably less than \$1,000 a year. For many of them it means poor health, disease, destitution, and even death in the case of many children, and perhaps in the case of even women and men in the poorer quarters of our cities. It means also more crime as well as a less efficient labor force and hence the undermining of national power at its very foundation.

Why bond issues cause an increase in prices as taxation does not is far from clear to many who have not studied banking. Hence it is desirable to present a few fundamental principles. Bank deposits are of two kinds. When a man puts a thousand gold dollars in a bank, he is given a deposit account. This is a "real deposit" and it is in this sense that many people think of the term "deposit." But there is another kind of deposit which is even more important in practice. Suppose a man goes to the bank to borrow a thousand dollars. He gives his note for a thousand dollars, and he might take out a thousand gold dollars; but he does not. Instead, the bank gives him a deposit account for \$1,000 on which he may draw. This is a "book deposit." If the man is unsophisticated, he may imagine that the bank sets aside 1,000 actual dollars to pay the checks which he will draw, but that is not the case. It merely sets aside a small reserve, probably \$200, which makes his

\$1,000 deposit account good, because when this man gives his grocer a ten dollar check, the grocer presents it at the bank but does not usually ask for cash. Instead he asks that it be deposited to his account. The first man's account is debited \$10, and the grocer's account is credited \$10. No actual money has been used. If the grocer gives a clothier a \$10 check, the latter presents it to the bank and, instead of asking for cash, has it deposited. The sum on deposit is still \$1,000. No money has been used. A few who receive checks will ask for actual cash, but the bank has found by experience that a small reserve, say \$200, is all that is necessary to keep the thousand dollar deposit account going. In other words, when the bank loaned this man a thousand dollars, it merely gave him a book account which involved the use of only \$200 of actual money. It may be said to have created \$800 of credit purchasing power which is used to buy more goods just the same as real money. The important point for our purpose is that the man's ability to borrow depended upon his giving security.

That is why a bond issue means more purchasing power than does taxation. It is primarily because a bond is security upon which the holder can borrow at the bank.

On the other hand, if the government takes \$1,000 from a man in taxes, his credit or purchasing power is lessened to the same extent as the government's is increased. He cannot borrow on the security of his tax receipt.

The man with a bond worth \$1,000 can, and very often will, borrow at the bank. Suppose he borrows \$800; to lend him \$800 the bank does not have to give up 800 actual dollars. Instead it gives him a deposit account of \$800 and, inasmuch as most of those who present checks do not ask for actual cash but have their checks credited to their deposit accounts, the bank can keep this \$800 in checks floating by setting aside, say, only \$200 of actual cash. In other words, this bond issue transaction has resulted in increasing the government's credit by \$1,000, in decreasing the man's credit by only \$200 and in decreasing the bank's reserve by only \$200; that is, there has been a net increase of credit currency (checking deposit accounts) of \$800, in contrast with no net increase if taxes had been adopted instead of bonds.

If the man had given up \$1,000 in taxes, he would have ceased to compete with the government and other buyers of commodities and labor to that extent; but when the government gives him a bond for his \$1,000, he is still enabled, by borrowing at the bank, to enter the market for goods and labor to the extent of \$800. The competition of the bondholder with the government inevitably forces up the prices which must be paid by both. Thus the government's cost of conducting the war and citizens' costs of living are increased. In the illustration, the bank sets aside \$200 of actual cash as a reserve to support the \$800 of credit extended to the bond holder. This leaves \$600 as the net increase in the purchasing power of society as a whole.

Inflation will not take place unless the floating of bond issues causes more borrowing at the banks. Hence objectors have asked whether many wealthy men will borrow at the banks or sell their present securities yielding 4 to 6% in order to provide funds for investment in United States bonds yielding 3½%. One hard-headed banker is quoted as replying to such a question, "I don't know. I've sold \$300,000 worth in the past few days to enter an initial subscription for that amount."<sup>1</sup> Perhaps many who buy United States bonds will not borrow at the time to do so, but, if they have any other money borrowed at the time, or, if they borrow anything in the future before they realize on their bonds, such borrowing will have much the same effect then as borrowing to buy bonds, because such borrowing would not have been necessary if the funds had not been spent for bonds. Furthermore, even if they have spare funds and do not need to borrow to buy bonds, their buying of bonds prevents their lending to others, who are thus forced, directly or indirectly, to borrow more from the banks and inflate the purchasing medium more than would have been the case with no bond issues. It is not a question of whether bond issues will cause inflation or not, but a question of the extent of the inflation.

The above illustrations show the possible results of bond issues that are taken by the public. As a matter of fact, if bonds are issued, a large part of them will be taken by banks.

<sup>1</sup> *The Annalist*, April 16, 1917, p. 536.

It is likely that the Federal Reserve Banks will buy these bonds wholesale by giving the government checking accounts to the extent of the bonds. This will cause immediate inflation to the amount of the checking accounts thus created, less reserve requirements, that is, possible inflation to about 80%, or even to 100%, instead of to 60% of the bond issue, as outlined in the previous illustration.

As the government draws checks on these bank accounts to meet its requirements, the banks will try to recoup themselves by retailing the bonds to the public. To the extent that they succeed, the bonds get into the hands of the ultimate investor who can use them as security for bank loans. In so far as the banks are unsuccessful in this distribution, the government is almost certain to permit them to issue bank notes on the basis of the bonds left in their hands, if the financial strain becomes severe. Such bank notes will cause inflation even worse than that due to the checking accounts of the public based on bond collateral.

The effect of inflation is cumulative. The more bonds that are issued the greater the inflation and the higher the rise in prices; the higher the prices, the quicker the funds are exhausted and the greater the need for more bond issues with still greater inflation and prices.

Bond issues sold at home do not, in fact, lighten the present burden of a war nor do heavy taxes necessarily increase its weight more than bonds. Perhaps there is no more common fallacy regarding the burden of a severe war than that it is so great that it cannot be met in the short time in which it is being fought. Corollary to this is another very popular fallacy that, even if a war could be paid for at the time, part of the burden should be put off until the future in order that posterity, which shares the benefits, should also share the burdens.

The truth of the matter is that a war, however great its cost, not only can, but must, be paid for during the war period, if the nation does not expect to draw upon foreign countries. If the war should be a long contest, the equipment which we have on hand at the beginning is an insignificant fraction of what we shall have to devote to its prosecution. Munitions,

food, clothing, and practically all that is necessary to wage the war will have to be produced as we fight. They must be paid for by somebody during the war period unless the government is to seize them without payment.

What a war really means is a diversion of labor from the industries of peace to the industries of war. We cannot continue producing and consuming all of the commodities to which we have been accustomed and, at the same time, divert a large part of the forces which have been used in their production to military purposes. This obliges us, of course, to give up some things, the things that are least necessary luxuries. The corollary of this is that everyone who demands luxuries and unnecessaries is thereby keeping men from the firing line or from the production of equipment for war or from the production of the necessities of life. This not only means a smaller force to fight against the enemy, but it means a higher cost of necessities and also a higher cost of everything which the government has to buy.

If the government is to pay for the labor which it diverts and for the commodities which it uses, it must secure its funds in one of two ways, either by taxing or by borrowing. In either case, it can secure these funds only from those who have more than a minimum of subsistence unless it is to press down the masses of its people below that minimum. If the government takes money in the form of taxes from a man, it gives him a tax receipt and owes him nothing further, but, if it secures the same amount by borrowing, it gives him a bond which it promises to repay in the future, with interest. If the government takes as taxes a large part, or even all, of income above a minimum of subsistence, it causes no more sacrifice than it does when it conscripts a man for the firing line. This is especially true in the case of special war profits. If, instead of taking this income by taxation, the government promises to pay it back with interest, the sacrifice is insignificant.

It is now clear in what sense the burden of a war financed at home can be put upon posterity. If a father sustains great losses, the burden is put upon his children in the sense that they do not receive as great a heritage as they would have received otherwise. If a nation sustains a great loss, posterity re-

ceives an impaired heritage. Both the present generation and all future generations suffer. But in the sense that is usually meant, the future cannot bear the present's burden. Munitions not yet created and men not yet born cannot be hurled against the enemy's lines. It is true that some of our citizens may advance money in return for bonds and be repaid by the citizens of the future, who will include the soldiers who are fortunate enough to return. But this merely means taking the burden off one part of our citizens and putting a double burden upon another part. The nation as a whole cannot put off the burden. This is evident when we consider that if all the bonds should be cancelled there would be no change in the amount of commodities or property within the nation. There would merely be a cancellation of the obligation of one part of the citizens to another part of the citizens.

As has been intimated above, the extraordinary expenditures of the war should be met in large part by taxation upon special war profits and surplus incomes. It would be unwise to increase most of our customs duties greatly, because they fall upon people largely in proportion to their consumption of necessities and not in proportion to their ability to bear burdens of taxation.

To meet the enormous needs of war, we may well lower the income tax exemptions from \$3,000 and \$4,000 to, say, \$1,500 and \$2,000 or even less, and we may well increase the rates upon the larger incomes, especially upon those above \$50,000 or \$100,000. In extreme need taxation might take all incomes above a minimum of subsistence without involving any more sacrifice than in taking men for the firing line. Doubtless it would be more expedient not to take all, but to leave as large a proportion as is feasible in order to encourage efficiency. Of special profits caused by the war itself, the government might first exempt a maximum profit of 6% or 8% and then take all of the excess above that amount if necessary. But here, too, it would be expedient to exempt a certain percentage to stimulate efficiency. It should be observed that both of these proposed taxes provide for exemptions at the bottom, that both of them are advocated for the war period only, and that neither of them confiscates capital now in existence, but that they

merely propose to take a part of surplus income during the war.

The experience of the warring nations shows that such taxes are feasible. For example, during the fiscal year just closed, Great Britain has raised nearly three-fourths of a billion dollars from her "excess profits tax" and nearly a billion dollars from her income tax. It has been estimated that the incomes of the United States are probably two or three times as great as those of Great Britain and the profits even greater in proportion. In other words, from these two taxes as now framed in Great Britain, we could probably raise  $3\frac{1}{2}$  to 4 billion dollars a year. They should form the backbone of our emergency revenue system, also. If to them we add other taxes and other measures which are suggested below, we could finance our part of the war entirely, if need be, by taxation.

But taxation is not only a method of raising revenue, it is also a method of cutting down demand for luxuries and unnecessary, of diverting labor and capital from places where least needed to military purposes. In the present emergency, such a national waste as the liquor business should not merely be discouraged by heavy taxation, but should be eliminated entirely. The taxation of luxuries which are not to be absolutely prohibited will cut down their consumption, and the taxation of surplus incomes will have a similar effect by reducing the means for purchasing luxuries. Estimates have been made of the value of commodities and services produced in the United States which could be dispensed with either permanently or temporarily. The items include such things as artificial flowers, pleasure cars, billiard tables, many furnishings, clocks, many articles of clothing, silks, laces, feathers, plumes, jewelry, extravagant millinery, musical instruments, patent medicines, alcoholic liquors, coffee, tea, many private and public buildings, *et cetera*, amounting to from \$7,000,000,000 to \$10,000,000,000 annually, enough to finance the war.

But there is much objection to heavy taxes. Besides the fallacious ideas which have been discussed above, the most common and serious objection is that taxation will not raise funds quickly enough and that it will injure industry and business much more than will bonds. It is true that time is

required to get the machinery for new and heavy taxes in working order so as to bring in their maximum yield; hence the initial issue of short time bonds or treasury notes is justifiable. Such bonds or treasury notes, however, should be in large denominations and interest bearing, in order to keep them out of general circulation as paper money.

The most serious objection to a policy of heavy taxation is its effect upon industry. This objection takes several forms. In the first place, it should be pointed out that many people who make this objection have not drawn the proper distinctions between general taxes upon surplus incomes and net profits, on the one hand, and taxes upon commodities, property, and even special taxes upon income and profits, on the other hand. A tax upon property or upon the products of that property—for example, upon a sugar factory or upon the sugar turned out—would make that property or that commodity less profitable and would tend to drive producers out of that line of industry into others which were taxed less heavily. But if the tax were general and evenly distributed upon all property and all commodities, it would not drive enterprise out of one industry into another, because both would be taxed in the same way, and if they were equally profitable before the tax was levied, they would be also equally profitable after it was levied. But from an administrative standpoint it would be almost impossible to levy taxes on different properties and commodities in such a way as to distribute them equally. Hence such taxes might cause a considerable disturbance in business.

Even in case of a special tax upon incomes or net profits from certain lines of business, there would be a tendency for those in the taxed lines to go over into those industries whose profits were not taxed. But the case is different with a *general* tax upon net profits and incomes. This tax applies to net profits and incomes from whatever source derived. Whatever the rate of the tax, it is to the interest of the taxpayer to make the highest possible net profit. If the tax leaves him any part of his net profit, that is, if it is anything less than 100%, the greater his total profit the greater will be his remaining share after the tax is deducted. Before the tax was levied he presumably went into that industry in which he could make

the greatest possible profit. If, because of the tax, he goes into any industry in which the total net profit is less, his share of the net profit after the tax is deducted will also be less. In other words, a general tax upon net incomes offers no inducement for a man to go out of one industry into another.

But even heavy general taxes upon net incomes may hurt business by taking funds for the government which would otherwise be used for repairs or for extension of plants. In the case of war the government must get funds somewhere. The question is whether the government shall take part of the funds which would ordinarily go for the repair and extension of plants or whether it shall take part of the funds which people would use for consumption. It is evidently in the public interest to take these funds from consumption in so far as this consumption is of luxuries. But it is of very questionable wisdom to take such funds from the consumption of necessities, especially if, as is probable, this will mean depriving the masses of a standard of living which is necessary for health and efficiency. It is probable, however, that nearly all the funds needed could be secured through the elimination of the consumption of luxuries. It would be unfortunate to take funds that would really hamper business, and it would be equally, or even more unfortunate, to sap our national labor strength at its foundation.

A typical business man has objected to the injury which heavy taxation would cause business by saying: "While I might pay 25% of my income in taxes, it would be impossible to give up 60% of it without incurring bankruptcy." This man, like many others, has a net income of perhaps \$100,000, but he knew in advance that he would have such an income and hence had made contracts involving its use. Not all this \$100,000 net income, nor even one-fourth of it, is what may be called free. He had agreed to use a certain part of it to pay for land which he had bought, other parts for interest on certain debts, other parts for life insurance, *et cetera*. It is true that most of these payments are investments of a sort, but he is under contract to pay them and may be bankrupted by foreclosures if he has to give up too large a part of his income in taxes.

This is a real difficulty, but it involves a problem of administration rather than a matter of principle. In many cases the investments which men like this one are making are bringing in current income out of which they could pay taxes, but if, as in many other cases, the free income would not be available for a few years, the taxes could be advanced by the banks on the security of the investments of present income. These investments will become remunerative, or can be liquidated in time to repay the loans of the banks. The government might even instruct the Federal Reserve Banks and the national banks to arrange for such advances of taxes.

It has been objected also that very sudden and heavy taxes would cut down consumption with great rapidity in some lines and thus lead to bankruptcy, much temporary unemployment, and much confusion. Bond issues, by causing inflation, would avoid this sudden change and consequent depression, it is claimed. The government in bidding for commodities and men would raise prices for those things which it wanted. These higher prices would result in diverting industry in the desired directions gradually instead of suddenly. There is much weight to this claim, although, even those who advance the idea, urge very heavy taxes as well as bonds and admit that bond issues sacrifice justice for the sake of expediency. The present writer is in thorough agreement with this. But the fact is that we are not faced with a prospect of raising all funds through taxation. We have already authorized \$7,000,-000,000 in bonds. The policy here advocated is the raising of as large a proportion as possible of all future requirements through taxation.

We have already indicated incidentally some ways in which a proper tax policy will promote national efficiency as bond issues will not. The maintenance of an adequate standard of living, which is threatened by the inflation consequent upon bond issues, is of prime importance. Taxation as a means of forcing economies and of diverting labor and capital to the places most needed is scarcely of secondary importance, though the advantages of taxes over bonds are not so great in this case.

But what is of more importance in promoting national efficiency is the justice of the taxation program. All serious

objections to taxes are based upon expediency; very few deny their justice. All admit that taking surplus income by taxation involves very much less real sacrifice than conscription of men. Justice makes for national solidarity and power. Men will enlist in greater numbers and will fight with greater zeal if they know that those at home, both rich and poor, are also sacrificing their all for the cause.

Not only would the tax policy mobilize our forces more effectively during the war period, but it would also leave our industries much better prepared to meet the readjustments which must follow the war. Prices have already soared skyward. The more bond issues, the further they will rise. The higher they go, the further they will have to drop after the war. Hence the greater the danger not only of a financial panic but also of a prolonged depression with unemployment and all its attendant evils. The reduction of heavy war taxation at the end of the struggle would encourage consumption and hence call for the employment of returning soldiers and labor freed from munition making. If we raise prices during the war by bond issues and levy heavy taxes after the war, incomes will then be cut and consumption curtailed at the very time when we shall have a large free labor force capable of producing for larger consumption.

The problem now before us is not one of raising all funds by the one method or by the other but rather one of the proper proportion between the two.<sup>2</sup> How much shall what is economically feasible give way to what is politically practicable? How much shall social justice be sacrificed to administrative expediency. The answer depends almost solely upon the general understanding of the issues involved. Such an understanding would be worth thousands of men to our cause. An America in which every citizen without discrimination is called upon to do and to give all he can, all that his powers permit, will be a united America, and a united America is bound to be victorious.

<sup>2</sup> The present writer is especially desirous that nothing said in this paper shall be interpreted as opposing the successful sale of any government bond issues which have been, or may be, authorized. However much citizens may differ as to policies which should be adopted, it is of prime importance that all co-operate to make effective the policy finally chosen.

## The Black Codes

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What the situation would be today in the South had that section been given a free hand in the solution of its problems and in adjusting itself to the new order created by the emancipation proclamation and the thirteenth amendment, we can only surmise. We have, however, data which should enable us to form some idea of how the leading men of the South would have dealt with the perplexing situation created by the emancipation of four millions of slaves in their midst, if they had been left to their own devices. President Johnson, on taking up the work of reconstruction where Lincoln had left it, appointed provisional governors and encouraged the states to convene their legislatures for the purpose of adopting the thirteenth amendment and of revising their constitutions. It was during the sessions of these legislatures toward the end of 1865 and at the beginning of 1866 that the famous "black codes" were enacted.<sup>1</sup>

It will be impossible to understand the purpose and the temper of these much condemned black codes unless we keep in mind the conditions which gave them birth. They belong to a transitional period. Men faced the dire necessity of bringing some sort of order out of the social and industrial chaos that was the natural and inevitable outcome of the war and emancipation. The legislators who framed the codes were merely seeking to establish some sort of *modus vivendi* that would insure food and clothing for both black and white. The freedmen who were the only supply of labor in many sections, were leaving the plantations by the thousands and trooping through the country in the wake of the Federal armies or besieging the Freedman's Bureau for food and shelter. Sidney Andrews, correspondent for the Boston *Advertiser* and the Chicago *Tribune*, spent fourteen weeks of travel and observation in the Carolinas and Georgia, and has given us in his

<sup>1</sup> They are given in McPherson, *History of the Reconstruction*, 29ff. and Fleming, *Documentary History of Reconstruction*, I, 273ff. I am greatly indebted to a scholarly discussion of the black code of Mississippi by Mr. Alfred Holt Stone, an authority on the Negro Question. See *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society*, Vol. IV, 143-236.

"South Since the War" (published in 1865) a vivid picture of the actual conditions. "That many of the leading men desire to see the Negro have a fair chance is beyond all question," he says but he met the complaint everywhere that "the free Negro will not work" (p. 380). Commenting on the situation in central Georgia, he writes "that thousands of Negroes in this section, where slavery was less a burden than in almost any other part of the South, have left homes wherein they had every needful care and comfort, for the uncertain chances of life by themselves, is a fact that I cannot refuse to see. . . . Hundreds of conversations with Negroes of every class in at least a dozen towns of this section have convinced me that the race is, on a large scale, ignorantly sacrificing its material good for the husks of vagabondage."<sup>2</sup> There was also a very general fear upon the part of the whites that vagabondage and idleness would lead to lawlessness.<sup>3</sup>

The situation was a most trying one for both whites and blacks. It was but natural that freedmen of all classes should be intoxicated with their new-found liberty. Sidney Andrews upon meeting an aged negress who had been a favored servant in a good home asked, "What did you leave the old place for, Auntie, anyway? 'What fur? 'Joy my freedom.'"<sup>4</sup> But how was it to be expected that the ex-slave who had never enjoyed the moral training of self-imposed tasks in a free industrial community should have any true comprehension of the obligations resting upon him for the proper exercise of his freedom? It was too much like the freedom of the boy who has received an unlooked for holiday from the unpleasant tasks of school. Undoubtedly many of the framers of the black codes felt the danger to both races in this situation, and they were actuated by a sincere feeling of responsibility and of guardianship towards the weaker race now facing new and untried conditions. This appears plainly in the message of Governor Humphreys, of Mississippi, to the state legislature in 1865. Speaking of the attitude of the state towards the Negro, he says, "The sudden emancipation of her slaves has devolved upon her the highest responsibilities and duties.

<sup>2</sup> Pp. 349, 350. For further passages of a similar nature from contemporaries, see Fleming, *Doc. Hist. of Reconstruction*, I, 77, 83, 89ff.

<sup>3</sup> Appleton's *Annual Cyclopaedia*, Vol. V, 1865, 62ff.

<sup>4</sup> Op. cit., 352.

Several hundred thousands of the Negro race have been turned loose upon society; and in the guardianship she must assume over this race she must deal justly with them, and protect them in all their rights of person and property. The highest degree of elevation in the scale of civilization, to which they are capable morally and intellectually, must be secured to them by their education and religious training.<sup>5</sup> This sense of responsibility as well as the desire to insure employment and industrial training for the Negroes of the rising generation, prompted the apprentice law of the Mississippi code. By this law "all freedmen, free Negroes and mulattoes, under the age of eighteen" who were orphans or whose parents could not or would not provide for them were to be apprenticed to some "competent and suitable person," their former masters being preferred if they were suitable. In these cases the "master or mistress" was required to give bond that the minor would be properly clothed and fed, treated humanely, given medical attention when needed and taught to read and write if under fifteen years old. The master had power to inflict corporal punishment, "Provided that in no case shall cruel or inhuman punishment be inflicted," and in the event of the minor leaving the employ of master or mistress, they were empowered to "pursue and recapture" him or even to jail him if he refused to return. If in the judgment of the court the apprentice had good cause for leaving his master, he is discharged from the indenture and the master must pay him a fine of not more than one hundred dollars.<sup>6</sup>

The terms "master" and "mistress" used in these laws were especially objectionable to many. Blaine says,<sup>7</sup> "The fact will not escape attention that in these enactments the words "master," "mistress," and "servant" are constantly used, and that under the operation of the laws a form of servitude was re-established, more heartless and more cruel than the slavery which had been abolished." It is interesting to know, however, that at the time when Blaine was making this point blank appeal to Northern anti-slavery sentiment, these very words occurred in the revised statutes of his own state of Maine,

<sup>5</sup> Quoted from Stone, *Pub. of Miss. Hist. Soc.*, vol. IV, 162.

<sup>6</sup> McPherson, *Hist. of Reconstruction*, 29. Fleming, *Doc. Hist. of Rec.*, I, 282.

<sup>7</sup> *Twenty Years of Congress*, II, 97.

under the headings "Masters, Apprentices, and Servants." The simple truth is that these phrases are so imbedded in the terminology of the law that they probably occur in the statutes of every state in the Union.

The laws against vagrancy arose from the imperative necessity of correcting the inclination of the Negroes to wander away from their homes and plantations, threatening those sections of the South entirely dependent upon negro labor with economic ruin. The black code of Mississippi classed as vagrants all freedmen, free Negroes and mulattoes over eighteen, who by the second Monday of 1866 had no lawful employment or were unlawfully assembling themselves together by day or night, and subjected them to fine and imprisonment. Upon failure to pay the fine it was made the duty of the sheriff "to hire out said freedman, free Negro or mulatto, to any person who will, for the shortest period of service, pay said fine and forfeiture and all costs."<sup>8</sup> To meet the support of the indigent and pauper class among the Negroes, a poll tax of one dollar was levied for a pauper fund for the maintenance of the Negro poor. For a Negro to refuse or fail to pay the tax was "*prima facie* evidence of vagrancy."

In the matter of civil rights the Negroes could make contracts, sue and be sued in the courts, acquire property and dispose of it the same as the whites; their intermarriages were under the same regulations as those of the whites, except that all intermarriages of whites and blacks were made illegal with a penalty of life imprisonment; the Negroes were now made competent witnesses in all cases in the courts with the right "to charge any white person by affidavit . . . with any criminal offense against his or her property."<sup>9</sup> The civil status of the blacks was therefore essentially the same as that of the whites. There were other minor regulations against carrying arms, inciting "riots, routs, affrays," etc., "exercising the functions of a minister of the Gospel without a license," or selling intoxicating liquors, which enactments were made in the general interest of public peace and welfare. In this analysis,

<sup>8</sup> Fleming, *op. cit.*, 285.

<sup>9</sup> Fleming, 289.

I have followed the black code of Mississippi, as it was one of the earliest formulated and together with that of South Carolina was among the most stringent. In Mississippi, South Carolina, and Louisiana, the enactments as to civil rights were least liberal and the penalties and restrictions the strongest, for the very natural reason that the blacks outnumbered the whites in all these states.

These black codes were greeted with a storm of condemnation in the North, and no doubt played a very important part in the crystallization of Northern opinion under radical leadership.<sup>10</sup> "If the Southern men had intended as their one special and desirable aim," said Blaine, "to inflame the public opinion of the North against them, they would have proceeded precisely as they did. They treated the Negro according to a vicious phrase which had at one time wide currency, "as possessing no rights which a white man was bound to respect."<sup>11</sup> The Chicago *Tribune* for Dec. 1, 1865, has this rather severe language, "We tell the white men of Mississippi that the men of the North will convert the state of Mississippi into a frog pond before they will allow any such laws to disgrace one foot of soil in which the bones of our soldiers sleep and over which the flag of freedom waves." To understand how passion and prejudice had warped the minds of men in these troublous times it is well to remind ourselves of the fact that, only one year before this Chicago editor penned these lines, a statute of his own state of Illinois had "prohibited absolutely the settling of negro or negro mulatto in the state, under penalty of \$50 fine to be paid or defendant *sold to work it out*; this process to be repeated at expiration of each sentence, till the negro died or left the state."<sup>12</sup> The Mississippi black code was hardly as severe as these Illinois regulations regarding the Negro. A scholar of repute thus describes the part these codes have played in shaping opinion as to the conditions of this period: "Without any fair consideration of the circumstances and conditions attending their enactment, without honest effort to grasp or appreciate the real spirit and temper and intent of the men who framed them, the dead literalness of these

<sup>10</sup> Rhodes, V, 563. Dunning, *Hist. of Rec.*, 57.

<sup>11</sup> *Twenty Years of Congress*, II, 93.

<sup>12</sup> Stone, *op. cit.*, 204, 205.

statutes has been made to do more than thirty years of scarecrow duty to blunders whose criminality has been accentuated by the maliciousness of their inspiration."<sup>13</sup> This is strong language. Let us see if it has any basis of truth behind it.

First, as to the motives of the men that framed the black codes. Now that we are able to analyze their language and study their actions free from the passions that played so fiercely around the issues of those days, we must grant that they were not maliciously bent, as many have supposed, upon the re-enslavement of the Negro but were honestly striving to adapt themselves to a new and trying situation. They sought to do justice to the freedman and at the same time to establish some sort of *modus vivendi* that would save them from the social and industrial chaos with which they were threatened. If we may judge from the language of Governor Humphreys of Mississippi, quoted above, they were men of ability and often prompted by a painful sense of responsibility towards their former slaves.

Some idea of the nature of the problem the Southern statesman faced, and some insight, perhaps, into the ideal in his mind when he framed these laws, can be gained by comparing the situation at the South with those faced by other peoples under similar circumstances. To be sure, no exact parallel can be found in history. The Southern states had to adjust themselves to three and a half millions of slaves made free by the sword and turned loose upon a ruined and devastated country, while in Jamaica, for example, the emancipation took place peaceably by means of just such a system of apprenticeship as the South proposed and the number of slaves involved was little more than three hundred thousand.<sup>14</sup> In all instances, however, the transition from slavery to freedom has been accompanied by great strain upon the economic and social systems of the peoples concerned, largely due to the natural tendency on the part of the freedmen to vagrancy and shiftlessness. In those cases where the transition has been made with least injury to the industrial life of the community, we find that some such system of control over the freedmen as the South proposed, such as apprenticeships and control of

<sup>13</sup> Store, *op. cit.*, p. 145.

<sup>14</sup> Gardner, *History of Jamaica*, 317.

labor on the part of previous owners, has been used. The Emancipation Bill of 1833 in Jamaica provided for a system of apprenticeships covering from five to seven years and an indemnity of some £20,000,000 to the slave-owners. When these terms expired the transition to freedom was made with "quiet and hearty rejoicings throughout the land," and yet not without great industrial depression.<sup>15</sup> Mr. Stone has shown from a comparative study of emancipation in the French colonies of Guadaloupe, Martinique, and Bourbon that immediate and absolute emancipation was always disastrous for both freedmen and owners, whereas the best results were attained by forcing the freedmen to enter into contracts for labor, extending in some cases to two years.<sup>16</sup> When the Negroes of San Domingo became free they "took holiday," refusing to work and all attempts to induce them to work failed until Toussaint L'Ouverture, the "*Vainqueur des Anglais*" and hero of Wendell Phillips's oratory, by means of a black code of his own of the most arbitrary and despotic character, involving often the use of the cudgel and halter, finally brought things to the pass where it was said that "ten new citizens could do as much work as thirty slaves formerly."

There are, however, other facts which would lead us to surmise that the status of the freedmen outlined by the black codes of the South was fairly in harmony with the actual industrial and social conditions of the time. Major-General Banks, who had charge of President Lincoln's attempts at reconstruction in Louisiana, in an address before a Boston audience, asserted plainly the great need of "steady labor" for the production of the crops of the South, adding, "It has never been demonstrated by actual experiment that the Negro would subject himself to continuous labor by any engagement or choice of his own."<sup>17</sup> General Banks brought forward historical precedents for the method he had inaugurated in Louisiana and asserted that there was no difference between his system and that of Toussaint L'Ouverture except that the latter was "infinitely more severe upon the Negro." "Can we demand," he continues, "even if we had no other ground for

<sup>15</sup> Gardner, *op. cit.*, 317, 430.

<sup>16</sup> *Op. cit.*, 191ff.

<sup>17</sup> *Emancipated Labor in Louisiana*.

our procedure, that a philosophy which has thus been discussed and practically tested in the colonies of England and France for half a century, should be discarded altogether, until somebody can suggest a plan more perfect and more certain to benefit the laborer?"<sup>18</sup> General Grant, at the fall of Vicksburg, found it necessary to adopt similar regulations regarding the 50,000 and more of Negroes that flocked to his camp. He placed them upon the confiscated plantations along the Mississippi River and forced them to remain there, exacting a certain number of hours of work from them and turning over refractory cases to the provost marshal.<sup>19</sup> Neither General Grant nor General Banks held a brief for the Southern attitude towards the freedman nor were they inclined by previous training to take such an attitude. The inference lies close to hand that they were naturally forced to adopt these methods because of the actual facts of the social and industrial situation as they found it.

It is interesting to find, after the Reconstruction policy was inaugurated, tacit acknowledgement on the part of its representatives of the correctness of the ideal aimed at in these black codes. The heads of the Freedmen's Bureau repeatedly advised the freedmen to remain at home, to seek permanent employment, but this advice was seldom taken. The military commander at Columbus, Mississippi, referred in a proclamation to the idleness of the freedmen and stated that they must "retire to their homes and seek employment elsewhere." Idle freedmen were ordered out of Vicksburg and Natchez by the commanders in those places. It was alleged that the freedmen in Mississippi in the summer of '65 were in destitute circumstances and 182,899 rations were furnished them, while at the same time there was a demand for 50,000 more laborers and it was stated that there was no good reason for a single freedman to be out of employment.<sup>20</sup> Circular after circular was issued by Colonel Thomas warning the Negroes of the complaints being made against them by those seeking labor; he even "*told them that the vagrant laws were right in principle.*"<sup>21</sup> In 1868, after several years of Reconstruction rule,

<sup>18</sup> Quoted by Stone, *op. cit.*, 202.

<sup>19</sup> McPherson, *op. cit.*, 294.

<sup>20</sup> Garner, *Reconstruction in Mississippi*, 253.

<sup>21</sup> Stone, *op. cit.*, 180, 181, quoting from Garner, *op. cit.*

it was stated that in the countries along the Yazoo River in Mississippi, the most fertile lands in the world, "The freedmen were in a destitute condition, mainly because they will not hire out to farmers and planters—a great number of the latter requiring their services."<sup>22</sup> Measured in terms of actual facts and with due regard for the desperate economic conditions the status outlined for the freedmen in the black codes was far from being a wicked deceit to re-enslave the Negro. There is little doubt that the objectionable features in these codes, of which we shall speak in a moment, were far outweighed by the ultimate and permanent good that would have resulted both for the freedmen and the community at large had they been given an honest trial.

It is not claimed, of course, that the black codes were perfect. There can be little doubt that a serious mistake was made in ignoring the question of Negro suffrage. Both Lincoln and Johnson would have accepted in all essential points the status as outlined for the freedmen in these codes, but they felt that the question of Negro suffrage, owing to the ever increasing prominence it was receiving through the efforts of Sumner, ought not to be passed over. President Johnson's letter of August 15th, 1865, to Governor Sharkey of Mississippi, is exceedingly suggestive in this connection: "If you could extend the elective franchise to all persons of color who can read the Constitution of the United States in English, and write their names, and to all persons of color who own real estate valued at not less than two hundred and fifty dollars, and pay taxes thereon, you would completely disarm the adversary and set an example the other states will follow. This you can do with perfect safety, and you thus place the Southern States, in reference to free persons of color upon the same basis with free states. I hope and trust your convention will do this, and as a consequence the radicals, who are wild upon Negro franchise, will be completely foiled in their attempt to keep the Southern States from renewing their relations to the Union by not accepting their senators and representatives."<sup>23</sup> Lincoln also, in a letter to Gov. Hahn, the first free state governor of Louisiana, suggests the giving of the franchise to the intelligent

<sup>22</sup> From the report of a committee of inspection, quoted by Stone, *op. cit.*, 185.

<sup>23</sup> McPherson, *op. cit.*, 19.

among the colored people and to those who have distinguished themselves as soldiers, adding "They would probably help, in some trying time to come, to keep the jewel of liberty in the family of freedom."<sup>24</sup> It is interesting to surmise just what Lincoln meant by "keeping the jewel of liberty in the family of freedom." Did he mean that the Negroes, if given the franchise, would defend the "jewel of liberty" on the battle field? They did not need the franchise to do that as their record in the war had just shown. Or did he mean that in some "trying time to come" when Sumner and the radicals wished to saddle universal suffrage upon the South, they could be estopped by pointing to the Negroes who already enjoyed the franchise in the South, but who were exercising the ballot intelligently, thus keeping this "jewel of liberty in the family of freedom" or among those who really understood its use and significance?

Undoubtedly the deepest offence to the group led by Charles Sumner lay in the tacit assumption of these codes that the blacks belonged to a different, and an essentially inferior, class in the social order. This appeared in the laws against carrying arms, restrictions upon the callings they might pursue, and even in the regulations as to apprenticeships and vagrancy. In many particulars these regulations were doubtless unjust, but owing to their tentative and experimental character this was to be expected. They would doubtless have been modified and in some cases were modified very soon. The Mississippi code enacted in 1865 was amended and some of the objectionable features removed in 1866.<sup>25</sup> As to their essential justice and fitness to the problems with which it was proposed to deal, we may take the testimony of one who is an authority upon this period, "The freedmen were not and in the nature of the case could not for generations be, on the same social, moral, and intellectual plane with the whites; and this fact was recognized by constituting them a separate class in the civil order. As in general principles, so in details, the legislation was faithful on the whole to the actual conditions with which it had to deal. The restrictions in respect to bearing arms, testifying in court, and keeping labor contracts were justified by well-estab-

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<sup>24</sup> Written March 13th, 1864, McPherson, 20.  
<sup>25</sup> Stone, *op. cit.*, 190.

lished traits and habits of the Negro; and the vagrancy laws dealt with the problems of destitution, idleness, and vice of which no one not in the midst of them could appreciate the appalling magnitude and complexity."<sup>26</sup>

The Southern black codes never went into operation nor were they ever given a trial. In some cases they were immediately declared null and void by the Federal military authorities of the different states. General Sickles, commanding in South Carolina, issued an order, January 17th, 1866, disregarding the code of that state. He insisted that vagrant laws apply alike to black and white and that "such laws shall not be considered applicable to persons who are without employment, if they shall prove that they have been unable to obtain employment, after diligent efforts to do so." The vagueness of such language indicated how far those in control of the situation were from any effective solution of the problem. The vagrant act of the Virginia code was nullified by General Terry of the department of Virginia, January 24th, 1866.<sup>27</sup> The black codes were speedily forgotten in the dismay and despair aroused by the radical Reconstruction legislation of Congress. Through these codes the mind of the South uttered its first and last untrammeled word upon the status of the freedmen. Henceforth, the dominant element of the section was allowed no word on this most important question; its real leaders were muzzled by political disabilities, and the sentiments of those upon whom the salvation of the section was ultimately to depend were forced to find expression through illegitimate and often through dangerous methods such as the Ku-Klux Klan and other similar organizations that arose in time and prepared the way for the overthrow of the carpet-bag régime. We can hardly exaggerate the danger to democratic institutions and respect for law and order in a situation where the social consciousness of the people was forced to find a voice in this unnatural and illegitimate fashion. Much of the blame for lawlessness visited upon the South today is due to the training in extra-legal methods of securing justice gained during this unhappy period. Social habits, when once firmly fixed, are hard

<sup>26</sup> Dunning, *Reconstruction*, 58.  
<sup>27</sup> See McPherson, *op. cit.*, 36, 41.

to eradicate. Furthermore, the aftermath of this era of misrule still lingers, for, when the social consciousness of the section seeks to regulate race relations through legislation, it is constantly in danger of opposing the radical Congressional legislation of Reconstruction days. The patriotic Southern legislator thus finds himself in the unenviable position of trying to pass laws that will give legal sanctions to the principles that have all along underlain the *modus vivendi* between himself and the black, without at the same time doing violence to the constitution of the land.

Throughout the ten miserable years of corruption and misrule that followed the rejection of the black codes, the most tragic figure of all was the Negro himself. Entirely innocent as he was of any responsibility for the war, ignorant for the most part of the meaning of the maelstrom of passion and prejudice that broke over his devoted head during reconstruction, it still remains true, as a great Negro leader has said, "I hardly believe that any race of people with similar preparation and similar surroundings would have acted more wisely or very differently from the way the Negro acted during the period of reconstruction." At the same time we must agree with this same writer when he asserts "it would have been better from any point of view, if the native Southern white man had taken the Negro at the beginning of his freedom, into his political confidence, and exercised an influence and control over him before his political affections were alienated."<sup>28</sup> Had the intelligent and property-owning class at the South been able to join counsels with the leaders of the North and had both taken the Negro into their confidence, as would perhaps have been done under the benevolent genius of Lincoln, that free and enlightening interchange of ideas would have taken place which is always necessary to the solution of great national issues and the dragon's teeth of reconstruction days would never have been sown and all the inevitable brood of sectionalism, race-antagonism, lawlessness and ignorance which we have not yet outlived would have been in large measure avoided.

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<sup>28</sup> Booker T. Washington, *The Future of the American Negro*, 11.

## The Open-Market Operations of the Federal Reserve Banks

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While the federal reserve banks are primarily bankers' banks, and their dealings are chiefly with their member banks and the Federal Government, the federal reserve act does permit them to have dealings with the general public through the purchase and sale of certain classes of securities. The act permits<sup>1</sup> the reserve banks "under rules and regulations prescribed by the federal reserve board, [to] purchase and sell in the open market, at home or abroad, either from or to domestic or foreign banks, firms, corporations, or individuals, cable transfers and bankers' acceptances and bills of exchange of the kinds and maturities by this act made eligible for rediscount, with or without the indorsement of a member bank."

The bills of exchange eligible for rediscount, according to the act,<sup>2</sup> are "notes, drafts, and bills of exchange issued or drawn for agricultural, industrial, or commercial purposes." They must not cover merely investments or have been "issued or drawn for the purpose of carrying or trading in stocks, bonds or other investment securities, except bonds and notes of the government of the United States." At the time of rediscount the paper must have a maturity of not more than ninety days.

The reserve banks are also permitted to deal in gold coin and bullion, "to buy and sell . . . bonds and notes of the United States, and bills, notes, revenue bonds, and warrants with a maturity from date of purchase of not exceeding six months, issued in anticipation of the collection of taxes or in anticipation of the receipt of assured revenues by any state, county, district, political subdivision, or municipality in the continental United States"; to establish foreign agencies, and to carry accounts for such foreign correspondents or agencies.

The National Monetary Commission and the framers of the federal reserve act observed in studying the banking sys-

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<sup>1</sup> Sec. 14.

<sup>2</sup> Sec. 13.

tems of the leading countries of the world that the principal method used by the great central banks of Europe in controlling the gold supply was changing the discount rate. In order to make their discount rate effective, most of these banks, particularly the Bank of England, frequently offered for sale in the open market securities which they had accumulated. By thus selling securities, the central bank could directly or indirectly lower the reserves of the other banks and thus raise the rate at which the latter could make loans. The Aldrich plan was criticized, among other things, for not making provision for any such open-market dealings.<sup>3</sup> It was for the purpose of thus giving the reserve banks a means of making their discount rate effective more than for any other purpose that the federal reserve act provided for open-market operations. Other purposes which the framers of the act had in mind were those of enabling the reserve banks to accumulate a reserve of foreign bills which might be used to meet and counteract demands for gold in foreign countries; giving the reserve banks an opportunity to invest funds which were not needed for rediscounting; placing the resources of the reserve banks at the disposal of non-member banks, which could not rediscount; and enabling the reserve bank in one district having surplus funds to relieve the strain upon the reserve bank of another district.

In regulating open-market operations the federal reserve board has constantly kept in mind the purposes as outlined above. The federal reserve system had been in operation for more than a month before dealings in the open-market were authorized by the board. On December 18, 1914, the reserve banks were authorized "to purchase government bonds within the limits of prudence, as they might see fit." Within a few days a tentative set of regulations for dealings in warrants<sup>4</sup> of municipalities was mailed to the reserve banks. Purchases of acceptances were not authorized until early in 1915. The board authorized on December 20, 1916, the establishment of the first foreign agency. The main object of the board in

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Ludwig Bendix: *The Aldrich Plan in the Light of Modern Banking*. New York: Robert R. Johnston, 1912. Pp. 122-9.

<sup>4</sup> In this paper the term *warrants* will include "bills, notes, revenue bonds, and warrants"; and the term *municipality* will include "state, county, district, political subdivision, or municipality in the continental United States, including irrigation, drainage and reclamation districts."

regulating open-market operations has been that of permitting the reserve banks to purchase only securities with a considerable degree of liquidity.

As to the general character of bills and acceptances eligible for purchase, the principal requirements of the board are that they "must not have been issued for carrying or trading in stocks, bonds, or other investment securities, except bonds and notes of the government of the United States"; that their proceeds must not have been used for permanent or speculative investments; and that they "must have been accepted by the drawee prior to purchase by a federal reserve bank. . ."<sup>5</sup>

A bill of exchange eligible for purchase in the open market has been defined as "an unconditional order in writing, addressed by one person to another, other than a banker . . . signed by the person giving it, requiring the person to whom it is addressed to pay . . . at a fixed and determinable future time, a sum certain . . . to the order of a specified person." A trade acceptance eligible for purchase is "a bill of exchange drawn by the seller on the purchaser of goods sold and accepted by such purchaser." "To be eligible for purchase the bill must have arisen out of an actual commercial transaction, domestic or foreign."<sup>6</sup> A banker's acceptance eligible for purchase is one which arose out of a transaction involving foreign or domestic commerce and which has a maturity at time of purchase of not more than three months.<sup>7</sup>

The aggregate of bills must not exceed ten per cent of the unimpaired capital and surplus of the accepting bank or trust company, unless the acceptor is "secured by a lien on or by a transfer of title to the goods to be transported, or by other adequate security." The aggregate of bills on any one drawer held by any reserve bank must not exceed a certain percentage of the paid-in capital of the bank, this percentage being fixed from time to time by the federal reserve board.

As to the eligibility of warrants for purchase, the board has ruled that they must be obligations of the entire municipality

<sup>5</sup> *Federal Reserve Bulletin*, issued by the Federal Reserve Board. Washington, Government Printing Office. Vol. II, pp. 532-3.

<sup>6</sup> *Fed. Res. Bul.*, II, 533.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*

issuing them and must have been issued in anticipation of taxes or assured revenues which are due and payable on or before the date of maturity. Revenues obtained from the sale of securities are declared not to be a proper basis for such warrants. Except with the special permission of the federal reserve board, a reserve bank is not allowed to hold obligations of this class in excess of ten per cent of the deposits kept with it by its member banks. The amount of warrants of a single municipality which may be held by a reserve bank is limited to from one to five per cent—depending on the size of the municipality—of the deposits kept with the reserve bank by its member banks.<sup>8</sup>

Federal reserve banks are required to submit to the federal reserve board "for approval and determination" the rates which they wish to establish for various kinds of paper purchased in the open market. The board permits the reserve banks to establish a differential of from one-fourth of one per cent to one per cent between acceptances of member banks and the acceptances of large non-member banks whose paper necessarily has a wide market. The board has also approved the establishment of a larger differential against the acceptances of less well-known non-member banks.<sup>9</sup>

Since the federal reserve system went into operation money has been unusually easy. The reserve banks have not needed all of their funds for rediscounting, and have consequently invested rather heavily in open-market purchases.

In the two weeks of 1914 during which reserve banks were authorized to make purchases in the open market the total purchases amounted to \$932,000.<sup>10</sup> During this period only three reserve banks, those of New York, Chicago, and Minneapolis, made open-market purchases. All of these purchases consisted of United States bonds and municipal warrants, for at that time the federal reserve board had not authorized the purchase of acceptances.

<sup>8</sup> *Fed. Res. Bul.*, II, 535.

<sup>9</sup> *Fed. Res. Bul.*, III, 28.

<sup>10</sup> The *First Annual Report of the Federal Reserve Board* shows these operations to have amounted to only \$255,000 (p. 196), but the *Second Annual Report* shows that in addition to this amount the Minneapolis Federal Reserve Bank made investments aggregating \$677,000. (See p. 75.)

During 1915 open-market purchases amounted to \$146,622,000, as follows:

|   |              |                          |
|---|--------------|--------------------------|
| United States bonds and one-year Treasury notes (par value) ..... | \$15,918,000 |                          |
| Municipal warrants, including renewals.....                       | 65,859,000   |                          |
| Acceptances, bankers' .....                                       | \$64,814,000 |                          |
| trade .....   | 31,000       | 64,845,000 <sup>11</sup> |

More than half of these purchases were made by the reserve banks of Boston, New York, and Philadelphia. The reports of the federal reserve agents for the western and southern banks show that in general there was considerable difficulty in making purchases, for, being distant from the principal seaports, they had little opportunity to purchase bank acceptances arising out of foreign trade. Furthermore, bank acceptances and trade acceptances had not come into wide use, and municipal warrants were in wider use in New England and the Middle Atlantic States than elsewhere. Even the Philadelphia Federal Reserve Bank had difficulty in making as large investments as it would have liked. Some of the western reserve banks arranged with eastern banks to make purchases for them. During the year the New York Federal Reserve Bank purchased for other reserve banks bankers' acceptances amounting to \$22,312,000 and municipal warrants aggregating \$19,762,000.<sup>12</sup>

Some of the federal reserve banks made an effort during the year to bring acceptances and municipal warrants into wider use and to bring about a desirable standardization of form for these two classes of paper. The New York Federal Reserve Bank reported that it had prepared a standard form of warrant and had made efforts to bring about a standardization of acceptances. The St. Louis Federal Reserve Bank offered the services of counsel to suggest forms of warrants and to help in their issuance.

Amounting to \$533,531,000, open-market purchases in 1916 showed an increase of approximately 275 per cent over those of the previous year. They were distributed as follows:

<sup>11</sup> *Third Ann. Rep. of Fed. Res. Bd.*, 96, 102-3.

<sup>12</sup> *Second Ann. Rep. of Fed. Res. Bd.*, 164, 166.

|   |                                      |
|---|--------------------------------------|
| United States bonds and one-year Treasury   |                                      |
| notes (par value) .....                     | \$56,750,000                         |
| Municipal warrants, including renewals..... | 90,686,000                           |
| Acceptances, bankers' .....                 | \$369,762,000                        |
| trade .....                                 | 16,333,000 386,095,000 <sup>14</sup> |

The proportion of open-market purchases of the reserve banks at Boston, New York, and Philadelphia to the purchases of all of the reserve banks fell off slightly during 1916, but still amounted to 47 per cent. The proportions purchased by the Cleveland and Chicago Federal Reserve Banks showed a slight increase. While there was some increase in the purchases of the other reserve banks, they still remained low. The following table shows the percentages of the twelve reserve banks:<sup>14</sup>

| Bank                | Percentage |
|---------------------|------------|
| Boston .....        | 8.7        |
| New York .....      | .294       |
| Philadelphia .....  | 8.9        |
| Cleveland .....     | .112       |
| Richmond .....      | .37        |
| Atlanta .....       | .27        |
| Chicago .....       | .110       |
| St. Louis .....     | .46        |
| Minneapolis .....   | .40        |
| Kansas City .....   | .63        |
| Dallas .....        | .28        |
| San Francisco ..... | .66        |
| <hr/>               |            |
| Total.....          | .99.9      |

The small demand for rediscounts by member banks and a larger use of acceptances and municipal warrants seem to be the principal reasons for the great increase over the 1915 purchases.<sup>15</sup> The reserve banks continued their policy of 1915 of encouraging the use of acceptances and warrants and of endeavoring to standardize these two forms of paper.

The *Second Annual Report of the Federal Reserve Board* shows no sales in the open market during the year. During

<sup>14</sup> *Third Ann. Rep. of Fed. Res. Bd.*, 96, 102-3.

<sup>15</sup> Compiled from tables in *Third Ann. Rep. of Fed. Res. Bd.*, 94, 96, 102.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. *Third Ann. Rep. of Fed. Res. Bd.*, 198, 227, 393.

1916 the federal reserve banks sold in the open market United States bonds amounting to \$17,254,000.<sup>16</sup>

The only federal reserve bank to establish a foreign agency so far has been that of New York. On December 20, 1916, the federal reserve board gave this bank authority to establish an agency with the Bank of England and to act as the agent of the Bank of England in New York. The board announced at the same time that other reserve banks might "participate in the agency relationship with the Bank of England upon the same terms and conditions that will govern the Federal Reserve Bank of New York, if they so desire."<sup>17</sup> The delay in taking advantage of the provisions of the act permitting the establishment of foreign agencies by the reserve banks has been "due partly to the disturbed condition of business in markets abroad and partly to the belief that a sound and thorough application of the law in its domestic aspects should precede the undertaking of foreign operations. . . ."<sup>18</sup>

In accomplishing one of their main purposes, that of providing a means of investing surplus funds, the open-market operations have proved very successful.

During 1915 and 1916 the earnings from this source were as follows:

|                            | 1915 <sup>19</sup> | 1916 <sup>20</sup> |
|----------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| Bankers' acceptances ..... | \$244,664          | \$1,560,918        |
| United States bonds .....  | 171,724            | 1,106,860          |
| Municipal warrants .....   | 490,689            | 708,867            |
| <hr/>                      |                    |                    |
| Total.....                 | \$907,077          | \$3,376,645        |

Earnings from rediscounts in 1915—\$1,155,633—were somewhat larger than the total earnings from open-market operations, but in 1916 the latter were far larger—earnings from rediscounts amounting to only \$1,025,675. During 1916 earnings from open-market operations constituted approximately 79.3 per cent of the total earnings, the percentages being as follows: from rediscounts, 20.7 per cent; from ac-

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 97.

<sup>17</sup> *Fed. Res. Bul.*, III, 4-5.

<sup>18</sup> *Third Ann. Rep. of Fed. Res. Bd.*, p. 16.

<sup>19</sup> *Second Ann. Rep. of Fed. Res. Bd.*, p. 89.

<sup>20</sup> *Third Ann. Rep. of Fed. Res. Bd.*, p. 105.

ceptances bought, 31.5 per cent; from United States bonds and Treasury notes, 22.3 per cent; from municipal warrants, 14.3 per cent; from sale and appreciation of United States securities owned, 6.1 per cent; from commissions earned on acceptances and warrants bought for other federal reserve banks, and from other sources, 5.1 per cent.<sup>21</sup> Because of the unusually easy money rates which have prevailed since the establishment of the federal reserve system, the reserve banks have not yet had occasion to use open-market operations as a means of making their discount rates effective.

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<sup>21</sup> *Fed. Res. Bul.*, III, 89.

## The First American Edition of the Lyrical Ballads

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For over three-quarters of a century, or ever since the popularity of Wordsworth and of Coleridge as poets has been established, Americans have been given to priding themselves on their literary acumen, which they fondly believed superior to that of the British in the beginning of the last century, in that while the *Lyrical Ballads* was neglected in Great Britain, it found appreciation in America. "Lyrical Ballads with Other Poems: In two volumes. By W. Wordsworth. . . . From the London Second Edition. Philadelphia: Printed by James Humphreys. For Joseph Groff, At No. 75, South Second-street. 1802" is the title page of the American publication, in one volume, which has given rise to this impression. An examination of some of the facts in the case may be of interest.

Some light is thrown upon the popularity, both positive and comparative, in both Great Britain and America, of contemporary British poets about the year 1801 by a prospectus issued by H. Caritat, one of the leading publishers of New York. He desires to print a "volume of Modern Poetry; forming a second volume to the London edition of Elegant Extracts in Verse." Knox, the compiler of the first volume, had not been up to date enough, for, says Caritat, "The Productions of Cowper, Hayley, Southey, Coleridge, Polwhele, Rogers, Merry and Gifford, have been almost wholly neglected; together with the not less exquisite effusions of their numerous contemporaries." Americans, he writes, had been denied the pleasure of reading these because of the imperfect importation facilities. Even in England these authors were difficult to get, because the editions were often sold out quickly or for the reason that the locations of the publishers were scattered. Similar conditions, but worse, it might be parenthetically remarked, prevailed at this period in America, owing to the lack of a central clearing house or houses and to the absence of rapid transit.

The principal contents of the prospective volume, a royal octavo of one thousand pages, are given, but Wordsworth is not mentioned. Helen Maria Williams, who was at this period equally popular in prose and verse, heads the list in the number of poems given, with Mrs. West a close second; while Lady Manners and Coleridge follow in the order mentioned.

Caritat, who was, for his times, an enterprising and aggressive publisher, speaks of his "recent visit to London" wherein "I diligently collected the works of every modern Poet of celebrity; and have procured materials which I could not have done by any correspondence." Though in the publishing center of the British Isles not earlier than 1800, Caritat may never have seen a copy of the *Lyrical Ballads*, for his prospectus, while containing twelve poems under Coleridge's name, gives no intimation of the "Rime of the Ancyent Marinere" nor of anything therein published by Wordsworth. Of course the volume was published anonymously, and possibly Caritat saw it, but was not interested so much in poetry as in poetic reputations.

The latter suggestion probably contains the true explanation. American publishers of Caritat's period were, to a painful degree, subservient to British critical opinion in the publication of new books. The *Lyrical Ballads*, then, was really waiting for British critical approval so pronounced and insistent in the mother country that it must strike the public eye on our shores, or else for a reproduction of that opinion through the enterprise of some American magazine editor or because of his need to fill space.

As no burst of critical approval in Great Britain followed the publication of the *Lyrical Ballads*, it remained for an American editor, more subservient to British literary standards than even his fellow editors, to call attention in America to the volume, and in truth to be responsible for its publication. *The Port Folio*, of Philadelphia, Joseph Dennie editor, published in the number of Saturday, June 13, 1801, a reprint of a long and highly favorable review of Wordsworth's *Lyrical Ballads* which it had taken from *The British Critic*. In the *Port Folio* itself, as late as Saturday, March 21, 1801, Caritat had been publishing his prospectus, in which he had ignored the existence of Wordsworth.

But now that the leading magazine of the day had devoted five of its long columns to a "Review of Lyrical Ballads, with other poems: in two vols. by W. Wordsworth. Second edition," the American publishers might venture a reprint. One accordingly appeared at the very beginning of the next year, and significantly enough in Philadelphia. Moreover it is not a reprint of the first edition but of the second, the one reviewed. The review, it must be further noted, is a second one. It begins: "In our review for October, 1799, we noticed, with considerable satisfaction, the first edition of this work, then comprised in one anonymous volume. It is now extended, by the addition of another volume; and the author has given his name to it, with the exception of the *Ancient Mariner*." W. F. Poole, in his "Bibliography of Review and Magazine Articles in Criticism of Wordsworth" (*Transactions of the Wordsworth Society*, No. 5) does not give this criticism, one of the most important of all, and by far the chief one for America. The *Port Folio* was not in existence in 1799, and, so far as I can find, no American magazine republished the first review.

The first advertisement of the American edition seems to be that of January 14, 1802. "This publication," it runs, "where it is known, will need no recommendation. Let not the name of Ballads give rise to prejudices in the minds of those who have never seen this work; for it is as much superior to those things commonly known by that name, as *happiness* is preferable to *misery*."

But the American publisher seems to have ventured a small edition only. George P. Philes, a Philadelphia dealer in *Americana*, says in an unpublished letter to C. E. Norton, I need hardly tell *you* that this edition is one of superlative rarity. It was published by subscription, and I imagine a very small edition was printed. The work was published at the joint expense of James Humphreys and Joseph Groff. The address to the subscribers is signed by James Humphreys.—I think this *first* American edition the rarest of all editions of Wordsworth's Poems. I have seen eight or ten copies of the first English Edition—but I cannot trace the existence of more than four copies of the American Edition, including the present copy."

## The New Poetry\*

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Every one acquainted with the subject knows that the last ten years have seen a notable development in English, and particularly in American, poetry. How much that development has meant may be seen by comparing the names suggested ten years ago by the mention of American poetry with those suggested today. Ten years ago the American anthology was made up for the most part of works composed prior to the nineties of the last century. Aside from a popular poet like Riley here and there, there was scarcely a living poet whose name carried weight. Today at least half a dozen American poets enjoy a reputation quite as great as was that of Poe or Whittier or Longfellow at periods correspondingly early in their careers.

To summarize the new movement in a word is impossible. It is complex and many-sided. Between Vachel Lindsay and Robert Frost or Amy Lowell and Edgar Lee Masters, the only bond is that each has cast aside tradition and approached the art in his own way. The period has been one of chaos. With the old laws largely discarded, new ones have been slow to shape themselves, with the result that there has been much ill-considered play of whim and caprice in the choice of both substance and form and much worship of the new merely because it is new. That many useless excrescences should attend the new enthusiasm was inevitable, but the genuineness and value of the enthusiasm no one can doubt.

It is just this complex nature of the new movement that gives special value to a carefully edited anthology like that prepared by Harriet Monroe, editor of *Poetry*, and Alice Corbin Henderson. The hundred English and American poets who are given place in the volume represent most phases of the movement, while the introduction summarizes clearly the principal aims of the new school of poets.

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\* *The New Poetry: An Anthology*. Edited by Harriet Monroe and Alice Corbin Henderson. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$1.75.

These aims, briefly stated, are as follows: to substitute everywhere the language of contemporary speech for archaic or other so-called poetic diction; to replace with perfect simplicity of form the often over-elaborate and artificial rhetoric of Victorian poetry; to abandon the "shop-worn subjects of past history and legend" in favor of themes of more direct and vital appeal; and finally to break away wherever it seems desirable from the ancient laws of English versification. A statement of these aims is enough to justify the movement theoretically. Simplicity of form and diction, with subject matter of direct human appeal, are characteristics of all good poetry from the Greek anthology down, and in these respects the present fashion is "new" only in so far as it is a revolt against that immediately preceding.

It is in a renewed grasp of these genuine poetic qualities that the value of the "new poetry" lies, rather than in the often accompanying tendency to "free verse." Indeed, the reader who has been wont to regard "new poetry" and "free verse" as synonymous terms will be surprised to find that nearer three-fourths than one-half the volume consists of verse in regular meter and for the most part in rime. In the free verse that does occur there is a very considerable range in quality. Some of it, it must be confessed, would look quite as well and far more natural if written as plain prose. It is difficult, for example, to see why, when Lincoln was content to have his Gettysburg address printed as prose, Mr. James Oppenheim must claim the poetic form for his "The Slave":

They set the slave free, striking off his chains.  
Then he was as much of a slave as ever.

\* \* \* \* \*

They can only set free men free.  
And there is no need of that:  
Free men set themselves free.

Certainly of the two Lincoln was much the greater poet!

But James Oppenheim has done better things than "The Slave," and other free verse writers have done better than James Oppenheim. Among those whose work is most striking are Amy Lowell, John Gould Fletcher, Richard Butler Glaen-

zer, and above all (as far as this collection shows), Ezra Pound. Take this for example:

Be in me as the eternal moods  
of the bleak winds, and not  
As transient things are—  
gaiety of flowers.  
Have me in the strong loneliness  
of sunless cliffs  
And of gray waters.  
Let the gods speak softly of us  
In days hereafter,  
the shadowy flowers of Orcus  
Remember thee.

It is impossible to deny the real poetic quality of this specimen and the effectiveness of the line arrangement, or to see how the same effect could have been produced in another form.

It is possible now, if indeed it has not been possible since Whitman, to say that free verse has justified itself as a poetic medium, not by any means as a substitute for metrical and rimed verse, but as an alternative form legitimate and in many cases preferable. To make such an admission is far from letting down the bars of poetry, so to speak, to any sort of expression of any sort of subject matter. Numerous writers of free verse, even some who have found a hardly deserved place in this anthology, have been misled by the too plentiful examples in their patron saint, Whitman, into thinking that they may write of anything in any way, provided they make some sort of division into irregular, pseudo-poetic lines, and have the result pass for poetry. Take for example Maxwell Bodenheim's "To a Discarded Steel Rail":

Straight strength pitched into the surliness of the ditch,  
A soul you have—strength has always delicate and secret reasons.  
Your soul is a dull question.  
I do not care for your strength, but for your stiff smile at time—  
A smile which men call rust.

What is this but sheer twaddle without weight of sense or beauty of form? Between this and the bit quoted from Ezra Pound there is all the difference that lies between the worst and the best in any form of art. Let those who think respectable free verse is easy to write take note of the difference and then try with what ease they can secure the Pound effect. They

will find, I believe, that good free verse requires quite as delicate an art as do rimed iambics.

But after all, what one most clearly recalls after reading through the collection is scarcely even the best of the free verse, but such examples of the older form as Conrad Aiken's "Music I Heard," which opens the volume, "The Horse Thief" of William Rose Benet, James Stephens's "Dark Wings," Mr. Masefield's wonderful "Ships" and "Cargoes," or the five war sonnets and delicate "Retrospect" of Rupert Brooke. These less novel poems, probably, have still the strongest appeal for the majority of readers. But whatever one's taste may be, he can, being a real poetry lover, scarcely fail to find it gratified again and again in this very catholic collection of the "new poetry."

## BOOK REVIEWS

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, 1835-1915. *An Autobiography. With a Memorial Address delivered November 17, 1915, by Henry Cabot Lodge.* Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1916, —ix, 217 pp. \$3.00 net.

For present day readers, one of the outstanding attractions of this candid autobiography of a distinguished son of Massachusetts is the intimate account of the writer's experience in Washington and in the army at the period of the Civil War. With minds full of the problems and preparations of a greater war, thoughtful Americans will profit by the retrospect in Mr. Adams's chapters. If Washington in 1917 sometimes seems slow, confused, and inadequate generally, the situation is certainly far more encouraging than that depicted in the chapter "Washington, 1861." Of conditions in February, 1861, Mr. Adams says:

"The situation in Washington was about as chaotic as was possible. I see it all now; then it was inscrutable to the best informed or the wisest. The simple fact was that the ship was drifting on the rocks of a lee shore; nothing could save it; this, however, was something none of us could bring ourselves to believe. We still clung to a delusive hope that the coming change of commanders would alter the whole aspect of the situation, and we would work clear."

Washington was "almost in a state of siege." When Lincoln was inaugurated, "Not until the ceremony was over did the curious cease to speculate as to the probabilities of a 'bead being drawn on Mr. Lincoln,' and the chances of assassination; and the question was curiously discussed whether the whole South would not yet furnish one Ravaillac." General Winfield Scott, head of the United States army, was stationed in an avenue near the inaugural procession, surrounded by mounted staff officers and orderlies, holding himself ready for any emergency.

When the inevitable happened and war came, Adams was a member of the Massachusetts Volunteer Militia. In that organization he received elementary but useful military training. A young man of twenty-six, belonging to one of the fore-

most families in the country, President Lincoln's call for troops in April, 1861, found him doubtful and hesitant. He passed many an uneasy night before he was "educated up to the full fighting figure." As a member of the militia, he was ordered to do garrison duty at Fort Independence in Boston Harbor. He enjoyed the training secured in this camp for a period of five weeks in April and May. After being relieved from this duty at the end of May, he returned to his law office in Boston. He was not yet mentally prepared to go into the army. For five months he pondered the question:

"I was young, unmarried, vigorous, and, in a sense, in the way in my father's house, which my brother then occupied with his newly married wife; moreover, I was doing nothing in a profession profoundly distasteful to me. But I fostered a delusion that my presence in Boston was very essential to the proper conduct of my father's affairs, and I felt no call to arms from any love of adventure. So, ashamed to stay at home, conscious that one at least of the family ought to be with the colors, I argued the matter continually with myself. But it was only slowly, and by increasing attacks, that the ever-spreading epidemic got possession of me."

By the end of October, after months of mental struggle, a psychological crisis came about, and Adams applied for a commission. Late in December he received his commission as first lieutenant in the First Massachusetts Cavalry. When the period of indecision was over and the commission was secured, Adams was filled with elation and delight. He served with ability and distinction, and the end of the war found him colonel of the Fifth Massachusetts Cavalry, a colored regiment.

In looking back upon the three and a half years of his military service and comparing its value with that of his three years at Harvard, Adams was inclined to think the military service and open-air life on the whole of incomparably greater value to him. He sums up the experience as follows:

"The experiment was, it is true, a somewhat risky one, and involved not a few hair-breadth escapes; but I succeeded in getting through without sustaining any lasting personal or physical injury, or any moral injury at all. I never was wounded; and though, when mustered out of the service in the summer of 1865 I was a physical wreck, eighteen months of change and a subsequent temperate and healthy life repaired all waste and injury. Thus, so far as physique is concerned, I from my army experience got nothing but good. I was, and

at seventy-seven am, in every way the better for it. Otherwise, that experience was not only picturesque, but of the greatest possible educational value. For two years enjoying it keenly, it, so to speak, made a man of me."

To young college and university men of 1917, who are called upon to leave their studies or professions to carry the colors into foreign lands, General Adams's estimate of the personal value of his military career should bring some measure of encouragement, despite the grave risks that must inevitably be reckoned with.

Pages which will be of peculiar interest to Southern readers are those dealing with Adams's address entitled "Lee's Centennial," delivered at Washington and Lee University on January 19, 1907. The warm reception accorded this address was especially gratifying to him. It was an occasion not marred by a single untoward incident, and was for the Massachusetts soldier and historian "one of the pleasant things in life to look back on."

The autobiography was finished March 27, 1912. Adams died March 20, 1915. A brief sketch of his activities during the last three years of his life is appended. One notes the omission in the volume of any mention of his vigorous attacks upon the waste and abuses found in the United States pension system. The frontispiece of the autobiography is a portrait of Mr. Adams.

W. H. G.

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CHRONICLES OF THE CAPE FEAR RIVER, 1660-1916. By James Sprunt. Second edition. Raleigh, N. C. Edwards and Broughton, 1916,—xi, 732 pp. \$4.00.

Mr. Sprunt, long a patron of North Carolina history, in 1914 published the "Chronicles of the Cape Fear River," for which the demand has been so great as to warrant the present edition. The work is a compilation of essays, addresses, newspaper sketches, poems, and documents, with considerable supplementary information from the pen of the compiler. Compared with the first, the present edition contains 138 additional pages. But more than that amount is new material, since the treatment of some topics in the former edition has been cur-

tailed and a few subjects entirely omitted. Prominent among the 49 new selections are descriptions of colonial social conditions (18 pp.), addresses and documents relating to the Revolution (18 pp.), Wilmington in the 'forties (48 pp.), reminiscences (28 pp.), and biographical sketches of Confederate soldiers (117 pp.). An entirely new feature is a series of six maps, one of Wilmington shortly after its incorporation, the original of which is in the British archives, two showing the principal plantations of the lower Cape Fear section just prior to the Revolution, the others illustrating the period of the Civil War. On the whole, approximately 130 pages are devoted to the colonial and revolutionary era, 137 to incidents mainly *ante-bellum*, 230 to the Civil War, including an adequate account of blockade running, and 137 to the years since 1865. The selections cover a wide range of information, biography, education, commerce, religion, war, and letters.

For no other region of North Carolina does there exist so large a compendium of information. To the compiler, all who are interested in the state's history, especially Cape Fearians, are under a deep obligation. The press work is excellent; the index is unusually large; the editorial work is all that could be desired with the exception of citation to the time and place of original publication of some selections.

WILLIAM K. BOYD.

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COMEDIES OF WORDS. By Arthur Schnitzler. Englished from the German with an Introduction by Pierre Loving. Cincinnati: Stewart & Kidd Company, 1917.—182 pp. \$1.50 net.

PORTMANTEAU PLAYS. By Stuart Walker. Edited, and with an Introduction by Edward Hale Bierstadt. Cincinnati: Stewart & Kidd Company, 1917.—137 pp. \$1.50 net.

Students of the drama are greatly indebted to the Stewart and Kidd Company for their recent publications of dramatic literature. The fact that they see their way clear to publish some unusual books of this nature gives evidence, it is to be hoped, of a wholesome public interest in the theater. Their latest books are Pierre Loving's excellent translation into English of five of the best short plays of the great Austrian

dramatist, Arthur Schnitzler, and a volume of Stuart Walker's "Portmanteau Plays," edited by Edward Hale Bierstadt.

Arthur Schnitzler is recognized by those who know as the greatest psychologist of present day play-writers. Readers of his famous works, such as *The Green Cockatoo* or the later *Professor Bernhardi*, will find this reputation of his well sustained in the marvelous one-act plays here offered by Mr. Loving. They establish beyond doubt the author's right to be recognized as the supreme artist in this type of dramatic work. Here, indeed, is a new art practiced by a master. No criticism in brief space can do the author justice; only a careful reading of the plays themselves can suffice. Mr. Loving's introduction offers great assistance, and it is heartily recommended to those readers unfamiliar with the dramatist. The plays included in the volume are: *The Hour of Recognition*, *The Big Scene*, *The Festival of Bacchus*, *Literature*, and *His Helpmate*.

No more striking contrast of subject matter or treatment of material is imaginable than that to be found in the two volumes named above. Mr. Walker's plays and theater hark back to the romantic and naive and scoff at realism. But they are none the less interesting, and the great success of this ingenious writer-manager's bold innovation is not due to mere curiosity of a public satiated on prosy, garish realism. The Portmanteau Theater has probably initiated a new direction in theatrical production, and its influence must prove and remain wholesome. The plays speak best for themselves. A brief introduction is provided by the editor.

W. H. WANNAMAKER.

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SOCIAL DIAGNOSIS. By Mary E. Richmond. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1917,—511 pp. \$2.00 net.

A SEASONAL INDUSTRY. A Study of the Millinery Trade in New York. By Mary Van Kleeck. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1917,—x, 276 pp. \$1.50 net.

Social diagnosis is "the attempt to make as exact a definition as possible of the situation and personality of a human being in some social need—of his situation and personality,

that is, in relation to the other human beings upon whom he in any way depends or who depend upon him, and in relation also to the social institutions of his community." The author is qualified to deal with the subject by long and successful experience as a social worker. In Part I of her book, she makes a careful study of Social Evidence; Part II discusses the processes leading to diagnosis, and Part III deals with variations in the processes. At the end of each chapter is an excellent summary of its contents. The book also contains questionnaires regarding various types of persons whose cases frequently come before social workers, illustrative interviews, statistical tables, bibliography, index, and other aids.

This is clearly one of the best books the Russell Sage Foundation has published. It deserves to become a standard text for use in the training of social workers. The author's interesting style, her logical analysis of the subject matter, her illustrations drawn from a rich experience, her manifest insight into human character—all combine to give her book value not only for professional social workers but also for other readers who feel a measure of responsibility for the welfare of fellow human beings.

A work which occupies a special field is Miss Van Kleeck's industrial study of the millinery trade in New York. This is provided with numerous illustrations, diagrams, tables of wages, forms used in the investigation, and an index. It is a worthy addition to the studies of this character made under the auspices of the Russell Sage Foundation.

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THE HEART OF THE BALKANS. By Demetra Vaka. (Mrs. Kenneth-Brown.) Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1917, 248 pp. \$1.50 net.

From a knowledge derived from personal experience, Demetra Vaka, a daughter of the Hellenes, has written of the life and national characteristics of the people of Albania, Montenegro, Servia, Bulgaria, and Greece. The story of her travels is no dry discussion of political or social questions. On the contrary it contains several episodes of fine romantic flavor. The narrative gives much information regarding national traits

in the Balkans, and the process of acquiring this information will be thoroughly entertaining to readers.

The author dwells upon the wrongs inflicted by Europe on the peoples of the Balkans. In her view the Treaty of Berlin was infamous in fixing the frontiers of the Balkan countries not for their best advantage and for their future welfare, but "to further the political intrigues of the Great Powers." As the result, there has been continual fighting in the Balkans. Her knowledge of the long continued fighting and suffering in the frontier towns leads her to wonder whether the blood flooding Europe at the present moment is not an atonement for the sins the Powers have committed in the Balkans.

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**COTTON AS A WORLD POWER.** By James A. B. Scherer. New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company, 1916,—452 pp. \$2.50 net.

Southern readers should be interested in this contribution by President Scherer of the Throop College of Technology to the economic interpretation of history. He has traced cotton in fable and fact from India to England and has shown the part the fleecy fibre played in the Industrial Revolution. Another portion of his book is devoted to "Cotton in American History." Notable is chapter 54 in which Dr. Scherer shows the great part played by cotton in localizing in the South the doctrine of secession. He later considers the influence of cotton in the New South.

An interesting chapter of the work is that entitled "California and Other Rivals of the South." The Imperial Valley of Southern California is compared with the Delta of the Nile. California cotton is of exceptionally fine quality, and the industry has become of enough importance in the Imperial Valley to call for the installation of twenty-two modern gins, three cottonseed oil mills, and two compresses. The author also discusses the prospects for cotton production in New Mexico, Arizona, Mexico, Argentine Republic, Peru, and Russia.

Dr. Scherer's work is timely and readable. It is popular without lacking the soundness which comes from wide research and trained scholarship. The value of the volume is enhanced by appendices containing statistical and other information and by a list of authorities on the various phases of the study.

**CREDITS AND COLLECTIONS.** By Richard P. Ettinger and David E. Golieb. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1917,—ix, 390 pp. \$2.00 postpaid.

**THE LAW OF BANKRUPTCY.** By Charles W. Gerstenberg. (Text and Answers to Problems). New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1917,—viii, 187 pp. Answers to Problems in separate pamphlet. Both postpaid, \$2.00.

Within recent years there has been a great increase in the number of excellent text books available for the use of students who are preparing themselves for a business career. An understanding of correct principles of credit granting and collecting is one of the things most vital to the stability and success of any business. Hence the importance of such a work as that of Messrs. Ettinger and Golieb. In their book one finds detailed discussions of the forms and classes of credit, the duties of the credit man, the construction and analysis of financial statements, credit insurance, collections, legal remedies of the creditor, and other topics pertinent to the general subject. An excellent feature of the work is the large amount of illustrative material. The authors have made a valuable contribution to the scientific statement of the principles of good business management.

While the work on "Credits and Collections" devotes a single chapter to an excellent elementary discussion of the subject of bankruptcy, Professor Gerstenberg has prepared for advanced business students a special volume on "The Law of Bankruptcy." He first gives a presentation of the purpose and theory of the law and of the manner of instituting and conducting bankruptcy proceedings. The latter part of the book is devoted to the application of principles to specific cases. One hundred and twenty-five problems, taken from cases adjudicated by American courts, are proposed for solution. These are cases which call for close thinking on the part of the student, and they should furnish valuable training in the law. The answers to the problems are printed in a separate pamphlet.

Though Professor Gerstenberg's work is not a technical legal treatise, it is by no means a business text of elementary character. It occupies a position midway between the ordinary business text and the legal text. The use of such a book calls

for serious mental application, and hence its appeal will be to business men of a high type and to advanced students of the principles and practice of business.

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THE THEORY OF CHARACTERIZATION IN PROSE FICTION PRIOR TO 1740.  
By Arthur Jerrold Tieje. The University of Minnesota Studies in Language and Literature: Minneapolis, 1916,—131 pp.

Although the actual text of this study includes only 92 pages, the range of reading represented is immense, and the scope of the work enormous. The author has attempted, and not unsuccessfully, to indicate briefly the progress of characterization in prose fiction from such extravagant stories as the *Palmerin d'Ingleterra* to that class of fiction best known to the general reader through the picaresque novels of Defoe and his contemporaries.

A prerequisite to such an examination is, of course, a classification of the many works to be considered. The main categories employed are three—the romantic, the realistic, and a third division comprising somewhat anomalous productions lying between these two. Each of these large divisions includes many special *genres* which offer wide divergences among themselves. For example, all the satirical, religious, informational-conversational, chivalric, pastoral, and horioco-historical romance and the other categories are similarly prolific in subdivisions. Out of a meticulous differentiation among the numerous types comes a general statement which is helpful to a real understanding of the gradual growth in fiction towards the modern standard of true *vraisemblance*.

To discuss the details of such a study would require more space than is at my disposal. On the whole, the conclusions are plausible. At times the pigeon-holing of types seems somewhat forced, and the results are confusing. It may be, however, that less elaboration would miss the truth. If, in general, the results are not quite satisfying, the defect probably lies in the fact that the author has disregarded the social conditions which had a direct influence on the various literary fashions which he records. In other words, to be final an examination of the kind needs to make a nice correlation of literary and social history.

C. A. MOORE.

## NOTES AND NEWS

The Southern Railway Company has published a profusely illustrated book on "The Floods of July, 1916." It is intended to show how promptly and effectively the organization of the Southern Railway met a great emergency. President Fairfax Harrison has fittingly dedicated the volume to "The Man on the Job." The editor of the work is Mr. J. C. Williams, assistant to President Harrison. Abundance of evidence is presented, in the fine half-tone pictures, of the astonishing and widespread destruction wrought by the floods. An organization that could cope with such a situation, and bring order out of chaos in so short a time, deserves unstinted admiration and praise. It was a happy idea to make this permanent record of "perils and adventure experienced in company," thus establishing a roll of honor in which any man might be proud to be included.

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The Houghton Mifflin Company has published a volume of "War Addresses, 1915-1917," by Senator Henry Cabot Lodge. The 18 addresses consist of speeches in the Senate and before colleges, conventions, and other organizations. "Mexico" is the subject of the opening speech of January 6, 1915, and the volume closes with the speech delivered in the Senate on the declaration of war with Germany, April 4, 1917. The record of Senator Lodge is one of vigorous assertion of American rights, and especially of the rights of American citizens to security of life and person whether on land or sea. But more important to him than our national safety is the securing through victory in the war with Germany of "the world's peace, broad-based on freedom and democracy." \$2.50 net.

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Professor William Starr Myers of Princeton University has edited "The Mexican War Diary of George B. McClellan." The diary is graphic, in a sprightly style, and even includes intimate details of the consumption of liberal quantities of egg-nog, brandy, and commissary whiskey by Lieutenant McClell-

lan and his friends. McClellan showed himself to be an able and brave officer and came through the campaign with distinction. Many passages are devoted to sharp criticism of the inefficiency and unsoldierlike qualities of the volunteer forces in the expedition. They are represented as not subject to their officers, robbing and killing Mexicans, and themselves suffering and dying like dogs for lack of proper care by their officers. The diary is illustrated, including facsimile reproductions of the drawings and manuscript of McClellan. Princeton University Press. \$1.00 net.

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The latest of the Phelps-Stokes Fellowship Papers, published by the University of Virginia, is "The Taxation of Negroes in Virginia," by Tipton Ray Snavely. Mr. Snavely's essay is largely in the nature of a statistical investigation and gives evidence of much painstaking research. He compares the facts as to the payment by whites and negroes of the capitation tax, the real estate tax, and personal property and income taxes. One interesting conclusion with regard to the real estate tax is that "in proportion to the market value of their property negroes are paying relatively more taxes in Virginia than whites. If, however, the taxes are compared with the income bringing possibilities of the property instead of the market value, race discrepancy is not so apparent."

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The North Carolina Historical Commission is making a systematic effort to collect for preservation all kinds of material relating to the state's part in the present war. Such material will be of great value to historians in the future. Documents and papers such as the following are desired: proclamations of mayors relating to the war, documents issued by local boards of food conservation, resolutions of public meetings, reports of Red Cross chapters, notices and orders of public service, transportation, and industrial corporations, records of the activities of schools and college growing out of the war, recruiting posters, programs of meetings, material for propaganda on war questions, pictorial material from local camps

and bodies of soldiers, letters, diaries, public addresses, sermons, etc. Secretary R. D. W. Connor of the Historical Commission will be glad to have the above or other similar material mailed to him at Raleigh.

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One of the most recent books on socialism is "The Next Step in Democracy," by Dr. R. W. Sellars, of the University of Michigan. The work is moderate in tone and advocates progress toward socialism along evolutionary lines. In the chapter "Can We Universalize Democracy?" Dr. Sellars makes interesting suggestions regarding the problems of American democracy in dealing with the relations between whites and blacks. A chapter of "Reflections on the War" presents an evolutionary view of pacifism and discusses the part socialism will play in this evolution. The book is exceptionally lucid in style. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$1.50.

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The Stewart and Kidd Company (Cincinnati) has published an interesting volume "Plays and Players: Leaves from a Critic's Scrapbook," by Walter Prichard Eaton. The work is illustrated, and Barrett H. Clark writes a preface. Mr. Eaton's reviews and essays are reprinted from various American newspapers and magazines and give fresh and enjoyable impressions of numerous representative plays and players. The high quality and literary distinction of Mr. Eaton's dramatic criticism makes it entirely worthy of preservation in book form.

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The legislature of North Carolina at its session of 1917 made an appropriation of \$2,500 for the marking of places of historical interest in the state. One-half of the appropriation must be expended by November 30, 1917, and the other half by November 30, 1918. Persons interested in marking sites of historical importance should communicate with the North Carolina Historical Commission. In case sites are approved, the Historical Commission will duplicate up to \$100 any amount that may be raised locally for the purpose of erecting a marker. However, it seems inadvisable to erect any marker

costing less than \$50. Mr. R. D. W. Connor, Secretary of the Commission, Raleigh, N. C., has the matter in charge. He will send to enquirers a pamphlet explaining the "Plan for Marking Historic Places in North Carolina."

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The Houghton Mifflin Company has recently published a small volume of lectures by Stanton Coit entitled "Is Civilization a Disease?" These lectures were delivered on the Weinstock foundation at the University of California. They are devoted to a consideration of the indictment brought against civilization by Mr. Edward Carpenter in his essay on "Civilization: Its Cause and Cure." The task of Dr. Coit is to point out the powerful forces that have been, and are now, at work to cause the indubitable evils of civilization to fall away through the substitution of social interest for self-interest as its basic principle. \$1.00 net.

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The most recent of the important Johns Hopkins studies of trade unions is "The Organizability of Labor," by Dr. W. O. Weyforth, of Western Reserve University. This monograph includes chapters on the methods of organizing unions, the maintenance of their stability, the management of unions, the union in its relation to small business, and the relation of unions to trusts and employers' associations. The Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore, Md.

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One of the many valuable publications of the State Historical Commission is the North Carolina Manual for 1917. Although this volume is primarily for the use of members of the legislature, it contains matter which should be of interest to any citizen of the state. One finds here trustworthy information with regard to all branches of the state government, accounts of the state educational and charitable institutions and their activities, national and state platforms of political parties, the Declaration of Independence, United States and state constitutions, election returns by counties, census returns, and biographical sketches of the members of the state government. The compilation will be exceedingly useful in the reference library or on the editorial desk.

Professor William R. Arnold, of the Andover Theological Seminary is the author of a recent number of the Harvard Theological Studies entitled "Ephod and Ark: A Study in the Records and Religion of the Ancient Hebrews." This discussion of the nature and ceremonial uses of these sacred objects of the Hebrews will doubtless be welcomed by Old Testament scholars. Harvard University Press, \$1.50 net.

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The April, 1917, number of the *Studies in Philology* published by the University of North Carolina is devoted to a series of essays on Elizabethan themes by a number of scholars who have been identified with research in English letters of that period. Professor Edwin Greenlaw is the editor of the publication, which contains essays by W. J. Lawrence, J. Q. Adams, J. M. Manly, Raymond M. Alden, T. S. Graves, and others. University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C. \$1.00.

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A commendable example of what one Southern mill corporation has aided its employees in doing is found in the recent annual statement of the Durham Hosiery Mills Employees' Association. This association, which is managed by a Board of Governors chosen from among the employees, has accumulated a fund of over eight thousand dollars. Small loans may be obtained from this fund by worthy employees at six per cent interest. The fund accumulates for the benefit of the association, and, in cases of unusual distress, charitable disbursements are made from the fund for such purposes as medical care during illness, burial expenses, fuel, wages during disability, etc. Such gifts amounted to nine hundred dollars during the last fiscal year of the fund. The Durham Hosiery Mills Corporation also maintains at its own expense a welfare department for the benefit of its employees.

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